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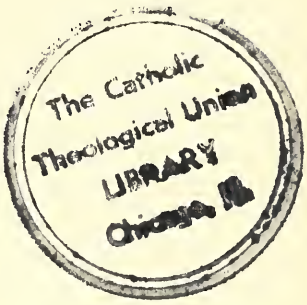

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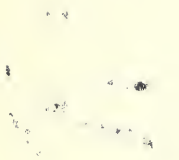

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 33, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1951

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VOLUME 33 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 22 NUMBER 1

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Cadillac's Last Years

I. Detroit Debacle

With Cadillac's appointment as governor of Louisiana his troubles at Detroit with the Indians, the settlers, the Jesuits, and with the traders of the west and Montreal and Quebec would seem to have come to an end. He was finished with the Jesuits, since he met them no more either in France or in Louisiana. As far as the Miami, Huron, and Ottawa Indians were concerned there would be repercussions because of his poor handling of the situation at Detroit and Michilimackinac, especially in view of the continuation of Queen Anne's War and the English-Iroquois threat to the French possessions and trade of the Great Lakes region. "Enemies" and opponents he was bound to have in France, in New France or in Louisiana, because he was Cadillac. It remains then, for the purpose of closing the pages on the life of Cadillac at Detroit, to offer in a general way the story of the last nineteen years of his life. First there is question of the manner in which his property and interests in Detroit de Pontchartrain were finally settled. Then there will be traced very briefly his adventures in Louisiana and his last days in France.

It will be recalled that on July 6, 1709, Pontchartrain wrote to Cadillac branding his work at Detroit as a failure.[1] He had not kept the Miami, Ottawa, and Huron Indians at peace among themselves, and had placed the fort in danger by bringing the Indians and their animosities together in one place, and by allowing them to deal with the feared Iroquois. Pontchartrain pointed out the specific cases in which Cadillac had failed to advance the interests of the king, but he promised that nothing would be done about the matter for that year.[2]

1 MID-AMERICA, XXXII (October, 1950), 253–258.
2 *Ibid.*, 256.

Less than a year later, on May 5, 1710, Pontchartrain named Cadillac governor of Louisiana, and placed him and the area under the jurisdiction of the governor of New France, Louis Phillipe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil. Word of this did not get to Cadillac for six months, that is, officially, but unofficially the signs indicated to him that he was being relieved at Detroit. In the first place the troops of the fort were to be withdrawn to Montreal and in the second place the king refused further support for the post. When Cadillac heard this news he called together the settlers of Detroit on June 7, 1710 to see about their helping to defray the expenses. The result of the meeting was embodied in a resolution signed on that day.[3] Cadillac informed the meeting "that His Majesty was withdrawing his troops to Montreal on his having refused to supply them with food, and that therefore His Majesty would defray no expense" at Detroit. The first necessity was to obtain a priest, which would require that he and the inhabitants should subscribe five hundred livres annually for his support. The resolution to do this was passed and signed and it included in the taxpayers the *voyageurs* and others who might come to trade.

It became a question now of paying for the transportation of the troops returning from Detroit to Montreal. Vaudreuil and the Intendant, Raudot, sent for the troops and paid the charges at His Majesty's expense, then reported to Pontchartrain that they thought Cadillac should reimburse the king "since they went up only at his request, and came down because he refused to supply them with food."[4] Debts seemed to be mounting for the commandant of Detroit.

About this time Pontchartrain's selection of Cadillac for the Louisiana post reached Vaudreuil in Quebec. Vaudreuil wrote this to Cadillac on September 13, 1710.[5] His Majesty, the governor said, had appointed him to Louisiana and at the same time had made Laforest commandant at Detroit. Laforest could not leave until the spring of the following year, consequently at his request, Vaudreuil continues, M. Dubuisson was appointed to act for him as his lieu-

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[3] Extract from a Resolution Passed . . . June 7, 1710, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections* (MPHS), Vol. 33, 478–479.

[4] Extract from Reports of Vaudreuil and Raudot, MPHS, 33: 477–478.

[5] Vaudreuil to Cadillac, from Quebec, Sept. 13, 1710, MPHS 33: 483–484; King Louis XIV to Lamothe Cadillac, at Marly, May 13, 1710, in *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1704–1743, French Dominion*, (MPA), Collected, edited and translated by Dunbar Rowland and Albert Godfrey Sanders, Jackson, Mississippi, 1932, Vol. III, 142–150; since the king's instructions to Cadillac were substantially changed two years later there seems no need to consider them in detail.

tenant. The will of His Majesty was that Cadillac should "go at once to Louisiana overland." Then the governor gave Cadillac a loophole, saying that if his affairs did not permit him to depart so soon he should give his advice to Dubuisson. However, Cadillac was ordered to cause the lieutenant to be recognized as the commandant.

Charles Renaud, Sieur Dubuisson, on his part was fortified with his own orders. He had his commission from Vaudreuil, and in it, in the name of the king all those at Detroit or coming there were enjoined to recognize his authority.[6] Besides this official paper he had a memorandum from Vaudreuil, telling him to take all instructions from Laforest and to show respect to M. de la Mothe. He was to permit Cadillac, who is always termed de la Mothe by the governor, to take all those who wish to go with him to Louisiana, *provided* that each settles his affairs before leaving. And he was to take advice from Cadillac for the good of the king's service.

François Daupin, Sieur de Laforest, added items to his lieutenant's packet. There was first a friendly letter to Cadillac.[7] Laforest begins by expressing his surprise at the appointment to Detroit, especially since he had expressly represented to Pontchartrain the poor condition of his health and his inability to make long journeys, "to which he has paid no attention, & he apparently wishes me to end my life in uncivilized countries." He was aware that the court had ordered Cadillac to set out immediately, but he knew the impossibility of fulfilling the order. He did not expect Cadillac to leave Detroit that winter. He begged Cadillac to help Dubuisson with his counsel and advice, for which he and his lieutenant would be grateful. "In regard to the goods remaining to you at Detroit I hope we shall have no difficulties, you and I, in that respect; and in case there should be any, Mgr. de Pontchartrain will have the kindness to decide on them, on the report of the valuation which will be made by skilled men. I beg you, Sir, to have M. Dubuisson lodged as conveniently as may be."

Laforest's instructions to his man were equally friendly toward Cadillac.[8] If M. de La Mothe is worried about his mill, cattle and other properties, Dubuisson is to tell him that Laforest will take over all things at the price set by an independent evaluator, Monseigneur de Pontchartrain. The payment for grinding corn and wheat is to be

[6] Vaudreuil to Dubuisson, Sept. 13, 1710, and Laforest to Dubuisson, Sept. 13, 1710, MPHS, 33: 484, 485.
[7] Laforest to Cadillac, *Ibid.*, 486.
[8] Laforest to Dubuisson, Jan. 10, 1711, *Ibid.*, 495–496.

the fourteenth minot, (which was what Cadillac should have been charging according to royal orders.) Those renting houses or lands from Cadillac are to be told that their new landlord is Laforest. Traders are to be told that whatever contracts they had made with Cadillac will be taken over by Laforest. Since M. de La Mothe was no longer carrying on trade, Dubuisson might make use of the warehouse, but if he had even the slightest objection the matter was to be dropped.

The lieutenant made his way from Quebec to Detroit, where on December 5, 1710, he turned over the papers to Cadillac, including Pontchartrain's instructions to Laforest.[9] Cadillac promptly set his wits to work to take all possible advantage of the governor's orders and Laforest's friendliness. It was, of course, impossible for him to set out for Louisiana during December, so he saw to it that the time generously allotted for straightening out his affairs at Detroit would be shortened or lengthened to suit his purposes. He apparently tried various petty schemes to get as much as possible for his holdings in Detroit, before beginning his bickerings with Laforest.

His schemes may be readily gathered from a reading of Dubuisson's orders to him given in formal style on January 17, 1711.[10] The lieutenant had learned that Cadillac was granting contracts for lands and places within the fort. Dubuisson told him flatly that this was contrary to the instructions of both Laforest and Pontchartrain, which he had shown him and, therefore, of which he could plead no ignorance. Moreover, the fort under the same orders was to be divided up differently and made smaller. The implication is clear that Cadillac was offering invalid contracts and moreover for sites which were soon to be eliminated.

Next, Dubuisson had been informed that Cadillac had been telling the inhabitants that he, Cadillac, would grant them lands. The illegality of this was clear, for the lands were domains of Detroit. Furthermore, if this were done, Cadillac would clearly be eliminating the possibility of growing wheat and therefore eliminating the possibility of provisioning the fort.

In the third place, Dubuisson wrote:

> I shall have the honor to tell you that the inhabitants have represented to me that you had promised them to lend them animals to draw the timber which they had agreed to supply to you for the repair of the Fort, which gives them the opportunity of saying now that without this help they cannot make up the quantity which I ask them for, which is however less than that

[9] Pontchartrain to Laforest, May 15, 1710, AC, B 32: 670 ff.
[10] Dubuisson to Cadillac, Jan. 17, 1711, MPHS, 33: 496–497.

which they had promised you, since I assign only five [animals] to each one; you know well Sir that this sort of people seek only for a chance of getting out of what is demanded of them, which is, however, only for their safety, besides which it would be disgraceful to us not to put our Fort in a state of preparation. The 8ta8ois and the Hurons, who have recently repaired theirs have reproached us for our negligence.

After telling Cadillac to inform the inhabitants otherwise than he had, and to inform them about payment for the animals, Debuisson asks him to save ten minots of wheat for sowing. He will pay a *reasonable* price for them, he says, seeing that you alone have French wheat to sell. The implication is quite clear.

In the final two paragraphs Dubuisson give two orders which are indicative of the manner in which Cadillac might have been making some money. The first forbids him to sell any animals in his possession, because they were to be attached to the domain of Detroit, according to the orders of Raudot. The second bade him to turn over some powder and shot for the defense of the Fort. He specified just how much Cadillac had received, and stated that Cadillac was to give an account of what he had used and then turn the remainder over to him. A receipt would be given for what was received.

From these orders several facts become obvious. Cadillac had been sowing seeds of dissention whose fruit would be the ruin of Detroit. The inhabitants were put in doubt as to the actual ownership of the fort, the properties around about, the animals, the grains, and the command. The soldiers, probably thirty, did not know if they could go with Cadillac or if they were bound to remain, and they would have no assurance of pay of food. The traders were in doubt about their contracts. Everybody concerned was in a position of insecurity about the future. Cadillac could remain and tell everybody that it was not clear whether Laforest and his lieutenant were simply the military command or whether they had rights to the property and trade. And this he did bring up continuously for years. He could say that he was not bound to depart until his affairs had been settled. He could and did appeal from Dubuisson to the intendants, from them to Vaudreuil, from Vaudreuil to them, and from the government of New France to Pontchartrain. By his control of all the available wheat seed and by holding all of the available powder and shot he was in a good bargaining position. Actually, he did not turn over to Dubuisson a grain of the powder and shot so necessary for the defense of the fort,[11] even on his departure from the place,

[11] Dubuisson to Vaudreuil, June 15, 1712, *Ibid.*, 542.

but he put it in the hands of his man Roy for selling, where it remained in diminished amounts until the following year when it had to be used to prevent the complete destruction of the fort by the attacking Indians. Needless to add to the above obvious facts, Dubuisson and Laforest, in spite of their attempted friendly settlement, became "enemies" and oppressors in Cadillac's mind.

One other way of crippling Dubuisson and Detroit lay open. He could take with him some of the men, if they could settle their affairs and leave no debts at Detroit. As a newly appointed governor he could claim that his person should be guarded en route, all in the cause of "the service of the king." He tried to find an escort at Detroit, but was unable to gather a sufficient number of men, because, he said, "they have business ties" in Montreal,[12] and presumably did not want to go to Quebec or New Orleans with Cadillac.— Since there was no escort to protect him he could remain in Detroit, which he did until the spring of 1711.

It will be remembered that Cadillac had said in his previous reports to the governor and to Paris that he had won over all of the tribes of the west to the French cause. In the early months of 1711 Vaudreuil was hurriedly preparing to do just that, unite them against the Iroquois. On March 10, 1711, he wrote elaborate instructions at Montreal for officers and troops whom he was sending to the west to win over the tribes and bring them to Montreal for a meeting with himself.[13] Sieur d'Argenteuil was chosen as the best man to do the work. Detroit was a key spot in the program, and from the haste and urgency of the mission, appears to have been one of the chief sources of worry for Vaudreuil. It should have been a unifying fort and post. It might be the occasion for the wreck of the French system in the west. All trade was to be stopped and the troops and captains were absolutely forbidden to take any trade articles with them, because if the Indians found that they could trade in the West their trip to Montreal would be delayed or put off.

About the time this expedition was preparing to leave Montreal, Cadillac was preparing to leave Detroit. Precisely when he left and under what circumstances of relief or sorrow he made his farewells is unknown. He arrived in Montreal in early June and the first testimony of his presence there is a memorandum to Vaudreuil, who

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[12] See Vaudreuil's memorandum of March 10, 1711, *Ibid.*, 497–502; it must be remembered that Cadillac had said that he had won over all these tribes.

[13] *Ibid.* and see also the words spoken by Vaudreuil to the Indians when they arrived at Montreal, *Ibid.*, 503–506.

was still there, dated June 5, 1711.[14] Instead of being fearful because of his lack of obedience to the governor and Pontchartrain and for not having settled his Detroit affairs and gone overland to Louisiana, he boldly assumes the offensive and asks for forty men to escort him to Quebec. His reason was the war between the tribes of the West (where there should not have been any war if his previous statements of his pacifications there were true.) Though the French, he says, are not at war with those tribes, the Indians would spare nobody once they were on the war path. The king's service demands that he be given an escort, for he has a numerous family, servants, and belongings. If Vaudreuil has reason for refusing this request, he begs him to send eight men to Detroit to fetch his family to Montreal, bring it to Quebec, and thence embark it for France, "so that I may go wherever His Majesty shall decide."

The memorandum may seem stupid or the writing of a scatterbrain who could not remember that he had in his pocket the orders telling him what His Majesty had already decided. Whatever one judges in this respect, it seems typical of the working of Cadillac's mind. The ruse would give him time in Montreal, for he could say that he was waiting for an answer from Vaudreuil. In the time gained he could get the lay of the land and make plans accordingly. This is exactly what he did.

On June 15 he wrote again to the governor.[15] Again he completely ignores the order to go to Louisiana, but asks Vaudreuil to tell him the "will of His Majesty," admitting for the first time that the governor might know it more exactly than he did. Cadillac wanted the king's mind explained so that he could comply with it, he said. He could not, he states at the end of his petition, take the matter into court. "because no judge knows what His Majesty's intentions are; you alone know them, and you alone can interpret them."[16] What he wanted interpreted (in his own favor, of course) was the letter of Vaudreuil of the preceding September 13, and the clause announcing the king's appointment of Laforest to Detroit "on the same conditions" as those on which Cadillac held it. Cadillac states his case:

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[14] Cadillac to Vaudreuil, June 5, 1711, AC C 11E, 15: 45–46.

[15] *Id.* to *Id.*, June 15, 1711, *ibid.*, 48–50, translated in MPHS, 33: 506–508.

[16] *Ibid.* The translation in MPHS, 508, reads: "Because no judge can be informed as to the will of His Majesty; you alone know it and can interpret it." It will be noted that up to this point only Cadillac knew what the will of the king was.

It is therefore necessary, in order to avoid all disputes, and in the interests of the King's service, that you should compel M. de la Forest to accept Detroit on the terms on which I took it over from the company of the colony, by acting in accordance with the letter from the court of 1704 and the contract made with the company on the 28th of September, 1705; or else compel him to abandon his claims to the said Detroit, proposing to order me to hold it myself in the future, as I have done in the past until it shall please Monseigneur to appoint [someone] to it.[17]

Is this merely the fantastic workings of the mind of Cadillac or is it a bold invitation on his part asking Vaudreuil to ignore the king's order about Louisiana and Detroit and send Cadillac back to Detroit as proprietor, using some specious pretext for his action? Did not Cadillac know of the sending of d'Argenteuil and the troops to the west? Certainly, he knew Laforest to be old and too ill to go to the post, and it is quite conceivable that he thought Laforest might pass away and thus open up a possibility of reappointment for himself.

Cadillac continues his petition by listing his grievances and losses, mixing true and false and misleading statements for a solid printed page. Dubuisson is put in the position of a robber; he is claiming Cadillac's mill, cattle, and goods for himself, and has stopped Cadillac from receiving rentals and mill fees. He relies on the instructions of Laforest. Neither of the two is willing or able to pay Cadillac for his ownings and contracts. Laforest "enjoys all the revenues and profits of the whole of Detroit, monopolizes the commerce there, forbids and excludes from trading those who have trading rights, and will make no arrangement with me . . ." He begs Vaudreuil to settle the terms immediately and tells the governor what the settlement should be: restrain Laforest from taking Cadillac's possessions and rights (enumerated); make him pay Cadillac in full or make him abandon Detroit; forbid him to disturb Cadillac in his possessions. Apparently, Cadillac wished to sell all things at Detroit at his own price to Laforest and to keep for himself the trade rights. Moreover, he implies that if Laforest cannot go in person to take charge at Detroit, as he could not at the time, the king's appointment would be nullified.

On the following day Vaudreuil replied.[18] He began his letter by showing his displeasure, rebuking Cadillac for not having left for Louisiana in the spring instead of coming to Detroit. "You could have gone there, Sir, and it even appears from several letters which I have received that it was your duty to go to your post." This was

[17] *Ibid.*, 506.
[18] Vaudreuil to Cadillac, June 16, 1711, AC, C 11E, 15: 51–52.

clear enough indication of the will of the king. The governor then went to the point of the military escort. It is impossible, he declared, to give the forty men requested, and "I have been informed that you yourself never thought that I would give them." However, and here the governor makes a great concession to get Cadillac on his way, he says: "Although I have received no orders to give you anybody for this [the Louisiana] colony, I will permit twenty men to go . . ." with you from Montreal. If more men are wanted, let Cadillac take them from Detroit, or even let him find Indians who might be willing to go to Louisiana. He added sharply: "You must admit, Sir, that I am doing my best to facilitate your going to your post." He ends by saying that he will permit Cadillac to take men from Fort Pontchartrain, although they are all under the governor's own command.

In his report on the colony made later in 1711, Vaudreuil gave a summary of the Cadillac-Laforest affair to Pontchartrain. He explained how impossible it was for Laforest to reach Detroit in the winter, especially since he had been ill. He had come to Montreal and was making preparations for going to Detroit in June, when Cadillac arrived in Montreal. Vaudreuil then states: "M. de la Mothe, who only came down from that post with the intention of proceeding to France, at once made several proposals to me; but as it is well to be on one's guard with him I told him to put them to me in writing."[19] The written reports were enclosed to Pontchartrain. Then Vaudreuil informs us that Cadillac and Laforest went to Quebec to lay their case before the intendant.

Whether the disputants went together to Quebec or on different dates is unknown. In a statement made at Quebec on July 1, 1711, Cadillac explained how he tried to sell his personal effects to Laforest.[20] He was disappointed because Vaudreuil had not decided in his favor and because Raudot had simply handed him back his memorandum. Gone were the days when he felt that he could insult the governor and anybody he pleased in Canada. He had antagonized everybody, had abused their trusts. Now that he was reduced to seeking redress from them, he found no backers. To him they seemed to be taking Laforest's part.

In the long memorandum he recounts again his claims and the history of the events. When Dubuisson enjoined him not to use or dispose of his own property on January 17, he wrote to him asking

[19] Report of Vaudreuil on the Condition of the Colony, Sept. 8, (signed Nov. 7), 1711, MPHS, 33: 530.

[20] Declaration of Cadillac, July 1, 1711, *Ibid.*, 508.

him to produce the money for the transfer or some security; he also asked for a copy of the order of the king which dispossessed him. He protested again on April 15. He presented a memorandum to the governor in Montreal on June 16. The governor replied on June 18, that Laforest was in charge of Detroit on the same terms as those in which Cadillac had held it.[21] If there was any dispute the intendant was to settle it and if he did not do so the matter was to be referred to the minister. Therefore, he says, he went to Quebec, presented his case to Raudot, who had returned his memorandum to him without any judgment telling him to "see Pontchartrain." Then he offered Laforest his properties for either cash or securities. Laforest said that he had no money. Cadillac told him that he would give him time, but Laforest said that he already had large debts and could get no security or loans. Cadillac then wished to sell all his belongings to anybody, but Laforest opposed this (presumably because he and not Cadillac was in charge of Detroit and its properties.) Laforest then drew up terms of the sale and settlement. Now, he was compelled to sign this to avoid complete loss of his efforts. He closes by saying that he considers this signature and the whole transaction invalid becaue of the duress, and any future signing by him will be under compulsion and therefore invalid.

Two days after thus declaring that all agreements between himself and his successor would be null and void, on July 3, he made his pact with Laforest.[22] They signed it before intendant Antoine-Denis Raudot in Quebec. According to the intendant's draft of the contract, "my said M. de la Mothe and my said M. de la Forest" consented to have two officers of Vaudreuil's choice sent to Detroit to assume command there in Cadillac's absence. Trade at Detroit would be carried on with Cadillac taking the profits, except on such articles as Laforest had sent to Dubuisson, until the arrival of the ships from France the following year, at which time the differences between the two would have been settled by Pontchartrain. Cadillac was to get the income from the property but he was to pay for the upkeep. Raudot considered it was best to leave the decision to Paris, declaring "it would be rash to interpret the intentions of the minister."

If anyone thought that this ended the troubles, he quickly found out his mistake. Within eleven days the litigants were back in

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21 *Ibid.*, 509.

22 Agreement made between MM. de Lamothe and Laforest, July 3, 1711, *Ibid.*, 510–512.

Montreal, where an occasion immediately arose whereby Cadillac could resume his badgering of Vaudreuil. On July 14, 1711, Laforest wrote to the governor for permission to go to Detroit.[23] He had heard from some Frenchmen recently arrived from Detroit that in that place "all is in a state of conflagration." The savages and the allies, he heard, were warring and killing each other each day. He felt that his presence there was necessary and begged permission to go at once. The agreement he had made with La Mothe, he said, was conditional, in that it was "made at a time when we were both at liberty to think that all would be quiet at Detroit." The king's service took precedence over all.

As soon as Cadillac heard from Vaudreuil of this new development, he sat down and wrote an indignant protest, which was dated July 16.[24] "As you did not wish, Sir, to take cognizance of what concerns my interests and those of M. de la Forest . . . and sent us to the Intendant," he argued, we adopted an agreement. All Vaudreuil had to do about it was to approve the nomination of officers and the command. Notwithstanding all this, you are sending Laforest to Detroit. "You hold all authority," he goes on, and we must obey you. But do not let him trade, he begged. Clearly, Cadillac wanted the governor to distinguish between the command of the fort and the trade of the country, and since he did not trust anybody, he asked Vaudreuil to send one Marigny as a co-commander with Laforest and as one invested with all the rights and prerogatives that had been given to himself.

He went on to say that Vaudreuil could not judge about the agreement, because he would have nothing to do with it thus far, and that if Laforest wanted to go to Detroit he would have first to return to Quebec to get a decision from Raudot.

> I do not think the said M. de la Forest can return [to Detroit], in the face of his signature; he is not a minor, nor under the care of a guardian. Hence our agreement must hold; and, if he wishes now to go to Detroit because of his honor, why did he not entertain this same sentiment ten or twelve days ago, when the said agreement was made; his honor, then, must have been asleep for the time. And since he declared himself in his said agreement to be unable to make the journey to Detroit on account of bad health which he did not expect to be re-established until next year, by what miracle does he find himself healed in a week, so much better than for nearly a year, since the time he had his orders to go to his post, but has not set about repairing there; yet he has been going and coming elsewhere as he does now.[25]

[23] Laforest to Vaudreuil, July 14, 1711, *Ibid.*, 512.
[24] Cadillac to Vaudreuil, July 16, 1711, *Ibid.*, 513–515.
[25] *Ibid.*, 514.

Cadillac's closing paragraph is astounding:

> And in case, Sir, should you refuse me the just favors I ask from you, which are to enjoy the profit of my agreement of the third of this month made with M. de la Forest, permit me to abandon Detroit to you [with] all my property in general that I possess at the said place, being unable to act otherwise as I am compelled to yield to your authority, hoping that His Majesty will have regard to the great loss I am sustaining and will provide means of compensating me.

Cadillac must have known that if Vaudreuil were to accept this offer, he could later sue the governor when the decision came from Paris, for Detroit had been given by the king to Laforest, not to Vaudreuil. He asks for "just favors" in one line and later says that he is being forced to give his Detroit to Vaudreuil. Is he threatening Vaudreuil with the wrath of His Majesty for the great loss he is sustaining either because Vaudreuil will not do anything about the settlement or is compelling him to turn over his goods?

The governor did not fall into the trap. He merely handed the letter over to Laforest who replied to it the following day, July 17.[26] He says sanely, that the wars have put Detroit in a bad way; when the intendant hears of this he will want me there, since I am the appointed commander, and he will pay no attention to the agreement. "As I am going to develop that post and as it is necessary for me to bear whatever expense is connected with its exploitation, M. de Lamothe should not take it into his head that I shall let him carry on trading there. He need not think he will impress anyone by specious arguments, which he is using only to perpetuate his hold on Detroit." And as for Cadillac's goods he can send any clerk he thinks fit to sell them.

As for his honor, Laforest says that it may have been asleep, but in the situation of honor three years ago Cadillac himself was asleep; Laforest is willing to risk his life by going into the danger zone; the critical situation at Detroit certainly awakened him to his honor. It was not the same with that of M. de la Mothe three yetars ago when he, with four hundred men, was beseiging sixty or eighty savages, Miamis, in a wretched little fort; for as soon as he came up to this fort, he entrenched himself behind a very big tree where he remained always asleep, in spite of the constant discharge of musket shots which went on for a very long time on both sides until the savages had hoisted a white flag on their palisade and asked to speak."[27]

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[26] La Forest to Vaudreuil, July 17, 1711, *Ibid.*, 515–517.
[27] *Ibid.*, 516.

Vaudreuil commented: "But as I saw that this was going on forever, I referred them both to the Intendant to decide their dispute regarding the trade."[28] As to the command, he granted Laforest's request to go to Detroit. But Vaudreuil did not believe that the trade of the post could be separated from the command and he was certain that the intendant felt the same. Paris could decide the issue.

Laforest did not go to Detroit after all, for Ramézay, the governor of Montreal, made him stop there with his two lighters and twelve men, because Walker and his fleet were on their way to attack Quebec.[29] In a letter to Pontchartrain, Laforest is said to have asked Cadillac the pertinent question, who would pay for the upkeep of Detroit, seeing that he wished to have the commerce of the post. Cadillac had no answer to give. The king certainly would not pay, and Cadillac did not want to foot the bill. Moreover, until the time of his leaving Detroit, he had always found excuses for not paying the soldiers, or the missionary, or the interpreter, or the surgeon. He had tried to impose the burden of payment on the inhabitants. Actually, he was now repudiating his debts and had no intention of paying, now that he was going to Louisiana. In the margin of this letter is the following annotation by Pontchartrain which settled the future trade and command: "He Laforest must have the trade at the post if he wants the commandantship."[30]

Toward the end of July or the beginning of August, Cadillac returned to Quebec. While he was there, an inventory of his property was taken at Detroit, and everything was placed in the custody of Pierre Roy. The inventory was completed and signed on August 25, 1711, by the Recollect missionary, Fray Chérubin Deniaux.[31] On the preceding day Father Chérubin wrote a letter to Cadillac telling him of the terrible conditions at Detroit. According to this, all order and subordination were gone. Dubuisson had cut the fort in half and turned Madame de la Mothe, and himself, and six chief families out of the dwelling, and the interpreter and surgeon. Du-

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28 Report of Vaudreuil (as n. 19 above), 530. In his account of the dispute the governor clearly indicates that he has given the king's orders to Cadillac and has told him to go to Louisiana overland; he washes his hands of Cadillac by saying: "Since he is going to France with his family, he will have the honor of stating to you himself the reasons which prevented him from proceeding to his governorship overland." *Ibid.*, 531.

29 *Ibid.*, Laforest was stopped "because his going would have served many of the savages with a pretext for disbanding.

30 Laforest to Pontchartrain, Nov. 10, 1711, AC C 11A, 32: 255v, 257v.

31 The inventory is dated August 25, 1711, and is in MPH, 33: 518–528. Another copy, kept in Quebec, is translated in MPHS, 34: 267 ff. and the original French of this is in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 22 (1918): 19 ff.

buisson acts as though he is "infallible, invulnerable, and invincible."[32]

The inventory made by Chesne and Magnant, assisted by Friar Chérubin, recommends itself as a model for detail. The inventoryists did everything but count the number of grains of wheat. In fact, when they finished with their description of all of the effects of Detroit, one could almost draw a picture of the post and what it contained. They apparently did their best to make the list as long as possible so that Cadillac might be able to justify his claim that his properties were worth thirty thousand livres. But at the same time they made remarks to indicate that some of the items were worth nothing. They not only itemized doors but the hinges and the number of bolts holding them. They begin with the mill and end up with "An old tin basin weighing 3#."

"A mill of wood, about thirty-four feet high and thirty feet eight inches in diameter with all its rigging except the sail-cloths which are worth nothing." So begins the inventory. A year before this the said mill was described thus: "the mill has been struck by lightening three times this summer, which has damaged it severely, bad as it was before."[33] The other valuable assets in the mill were: two cables, 46# of plaster, an iron S-piece, a crow-bar, three hammers, a hatchet, an axe, a sieve, one half minot, and three bolts, nothing more.

The buildings were nine in number and in no wise impressive. First was the much spoken of warehouse, thirty-seven and a half by twenty-two feet by eight feet high, roofed and floored with wood but with siding only two feet up. Four houses are described, all of stakes with grass roofs and apparently without wood floors. The first, thirty-three and a half by nineteen by eight feet, had window shutters, a door, a small cellar nearby, and a porch; the second house was eighteen by twelve by six and a half feet, with shutters, door, and an adjoining cellar; the third was rated "inferior," being sixteen by twelve, without door or window, and serving as a cattle shed; apparently it had no roof; the fourth was thirty-three by twenty-one by nine feet, with spaces for but no doors or shutters. The barn was fifty by twenty-seven by eleven, with "joists partly worn out." A year previously this and the "house" mentioned above were called "a miserable barn and house, which serves as a stable."[34]

[32] Chérubin to Cadillac, August 24, 1711, MPHS, 33: 517. The editor spelled the Franciscan's name "De Nian" but the signature at the end of the inventory is Deniaux.

[33] See Census of Detroit for 1710, *Ibid.*, 494–495.

[34] *Ibid.*, 494.

The seventh and eighth "buildings" listed are one dove-cote and one ice-house. The last was the "church", thirty-five by twenty-four and a half by ten feet, a log cabin with a roof, doors, windows and shutters, a key, and a bell. Architecturally there seems nothing of importance here, since the skyscraper was an eleven foot barn.

The ornaments of the church are next listed, although for what reason is not clear, since the vestments, altar, and so forth must have been blest and could not be sold; the other items in the two-page list, like "two pin-cushions," "eight bunches of artificial flowers, old & worn out," some flower pots, one confessional, and one old "turning box," could certainly claim no attention at an auction.

Next follow lists headed Joiners tools, Carpenter's Tools, and Mason's tools, ending up with: "An anvil, bent. A hammer, bent." Among the mason's tools we find a small inkstand, a pair of iron handcuffs, and eight hinges "which have seen service."

The merchandise about which there was so much dispute is listed in three full pages. There were dozens of knives classified under nine headings. Hinges, fire-beaters, large fishing hooks, tongs, screws, crucifixes, rosaries, needles, aniseseed, small trumpets, calumets, beads, mirrors, wooden combs, beads, horse hair buttons, alum, threads (one spool "a little eaten by mice" and some gold thread "spoilt"), ribbons, gun flints, sixteen muskets (five of which were poor or spoilt), women's shirts, small shirts (some worn and some worn out), cloths, "two pairs of fine stockings for a man," lead, bullets, a medicine chest, a set of steps, cable, a soldier's coat, a wooden trunk, a bracelet, two necklaces, some dishes, two locks, a door, a large pirogue, an oven, some bags, and flour, such make up the main entrees on the list.

The animals were four oxen, thirteen bulls from one to four years old, two heifers a year old and one four years old, nine large cows, and "1 horse called Colin, 8 years old or thereabouts." Under the heading of harness for the horse called Colin we find a plow and chain, "an old curry comb," a drag cart, a wheel cart, an ox wagon, and "Also 1 feather bed with its bolster," and nineteen pigeons! Colin might be called a "compleat" horse.

There is added the list of effects and tools for M. Demarigny, which Pierre Roy was holding for Cadillac, and this consists chiefly of household goods and pantry supplies, though there was a quantity of powder, shot, lead, and gun flints. Among the items are two spits, a couch, nine chairs, two frying pans "half worn out," a tin funnel, four bottles, twelve tin plates, an old tin tankard, four ounces

of pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and "4 dishes of different kinds, one with the edge cracked, weighing three livres and a half." Since the weight is given the dishes probably were of plate.

What became of all of these properties and supplies cannot be told, but some are accounted for. When the savages, aroused by the Fox, began their assaults on Fort Pontchartrain in May of 1712, they killed most of the pigeons and the stock of the settlers. Dubuisson realizing that the Indians were out of control, says:

> But the most important matter was to pull down, as quickly as possible, the church, the store-house, and any other building alongside of my fort, which was also so near [to their fort] that the enemy would have had it in their power to set our buildings on fire whenever they wished; and moreover it was a matter of importance to make some clearance so that we might defend ourselves better in case we were attacked, which in fact happened.[35]

The materials were used to strengthen the fort. The dove-cote was also put to a good purpose. The Indians wanted it, so Dubuisson had it moved and set up on its stilts opposite to their fort. Then, before they were aware of what was going on, he had two swivel guns mounted and trained on their fort through two loop holes of the six foot coop.[36] We wonder what Cadillac, who constructed the buildings, would have done under the circumstances. The powder and shot were taken for the defence of the fort, and later on paid for. Again, it must be noted, if Cadillac had arranged peace between the tribes as he had been bound to do, the whole bloodshed, including the deaths of eight hundred Fox, might have been averted.[37]

Father Marest, reporting the words of the Indians, in the middle of 1712, quotes them as saying: "In a short time from now, another French chief Sabrevois is to come, who is a young man who has bought all the property of Monsieur de La Mothe, his silver plate, his oxen & cows, &c., and has also bought the land of Detroit, &c."[38] Did the &c. include Colin, the horse? Later we find Sabrevois accusing Alphonse Tonti of eating the oxen and cows,[39] which were probably aged on the hoof by that time. Since Cadillac made no further claim for payment for his goods and since he did make claims of 300# for the cattle, it is assumed that Sabrevois had already paid for the goods. There remained only the settlements for the con-

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35 Report of Dubuisson to Vaudreuil, June 15, 1712, *Ibid.*, 538.
36 *Ibid.*, 539.
37 *Ibid.*, 551, and Marest to Vaudreuil, June 21, 1712, *Ibid.*, 555.
38 Marest to Vaudreuil, July 6, 1712, *Ibid.*, 557.
39 Sabrevois to Cadillac, (1717?), *Ibid.*, 595.

tracts, but over these and the rents, and his pay, Cadillac was to argue for the next ten years.

What he did about the inventory when it reached him is not stated. It must have seemed satisfactory to him or there would be correspondence. He was sufficiently interested in getting to France, though it was clear that he would be disobeying orders in so doing rather than in going overland to Louisiana. His legal claims would be some excuse for getting to France, where he could risk explaining his disobedience to Pontchartrain. That the long war was still dragging on was no concern of his. That there might be some angles of profit in Louisiana to be investigated in Paris was of some concern.

So to France he went. We have no information as to the time when Cadillac's family arrived at Quebec; all that we know is that they were supposed to reach there in September. We also know that on November 12 he was still in Quebec, for on this day he bestowed a dowry of six thousand livres on his daughter Judith, who was to stay at the Ursuline convent as a perpetual boarder.[40] The contract drawn for her is remarkable, because first she was to be left in Canada and second because of the perpetual care she was to receive. She was about twenty-three years of age. From these facts and the elaborate contract we could conclude that she was handicapped in some fashion. Three of his thirteen children had died, and one, born at Detroit in 1710, was buried at Quebec in 1714; no reason is given why this four year old was left behind.[41] An older son, Antoine, remained and was in the Indian wars in 1716. Incidentally, two of his children were born in 1707, one on January 19, the other on December 28. Cadillac and *some* of his family must have left for France shortly after November 12, 1711.[42]

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[40] "Contract and agreement between the reverend ladies Ursulines and Mon. de la mothe Cadillac," Nov. 12, 1711, MPHS, 34: 250–254.

[41] See C. M. Burton in *Ibid.*, 303–304 on the progeny of Cadillac. Regarding Antoine, the eldest son, see Burton's comments, 317–318, wherein the editor speaks of the "rascals" who despoiled Cadillac and the application of young Cadillac for the Detroit post; this son was claiming a vast tract of land around Detroit, and was "deprived" of it; Vaudreuil and the intendant turned down the application, because "La Mothe's son has not had experience enough to rule the minds of the savages."

[42] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, April 7, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2: 668. According to this *coup de partance* was fired on November 12 at four in the morning, but he was signing the above mentioned contract in Quebec in the afternoon of the same day, he must be mistaken about the time of departure.

II. Louisiana Fiasco

The date of the arrival of the Cadillac family on the shores of France is unknown. At the end of January, 1712 the Congress of Utrecht had opened for the series of meetings which in the course of two years ended the war. The first indication that Cadillac had made his way to Paris is his letter to Pontchartrain dated April 7, 1712 and written "à l'hôtel de Beauvais, rue de l'Hirondelle," where he stayed during his sojourn.[43]

In the first paragraph he admits that his letter "is somewhat long, but reading it, you will have more merit before God. *Qui studet orat.*" He goes on to explain that he was not obliged to give a gratuity to Laforest, whose high-handed procedures along with those of Dubuisson he protests. Three famous lawyers of the Parlement of Paris have answered that what Alphonse Tonti had received was not a gratuity but a salary, and he was not bound to pay any salary to the said gentlemen. He explains that he does not want to have this matter judged at Quebec, where everybody is related to Laforest or to his wife. Moreover, such bickerings do not become an officer, and he cannot give power of attorney to anybody in Canada, for no one would dare go to court for Cadillac in a place where "the man who has all authority in Canada [Vaudreuil] is my irreconcilable enemy." Presuming that Pontchartrain was either stupid or gullible he continued with a few facts: he did not do any trading at Detroit; all in all he may have made 50,000 livres profit. His son had come back with him on leave of absence from Vaudreuil, but illness had prevented his visiting the minister. Cadillac would like to go to Louisiana, if the minister's intention still is that he should go.

He soon became more and more interested in getting to Louisiana, for plans were being talked of in Paris, which might open the way to large profits. Antoine Crozat, the big financier of the time, was interested in investing some of his reputedly vast fortune in a trade monopoly in Louisiana. The interest in the trade was second to the interest in mines, about which so many references were being made in the letters from the court to colonial administrators and *vice-versa.* Here was business likely to interest Cadillac.

Crozat and Lebar were considering the offer of Louis XIV for the venture. As part of the investigation, Raudot, who had returned to Paris from Canada, called in Cadillac for an interview with Lebar.

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[43] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, April 7, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2: 669–670.

Lebar, however, did not appear; "he sent word," Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain, "that he had been occupied the whole day with some important business," but some time later questioned Cadillac about the mines of Louisiana.[44] "I answered him that I was absolutely sure there was a rich lead mine." Last year, he went on to say, the Foxes had brought in two prisoners, whose village was near the Spanish mines. These braves Cadillac had entertained for three months, and before he sent them back they had given him a plan of their country. If Pontchartrain will be so kind as to give him a quarter of an hour of his time, Cadillac will explain everything. Cadillac, therefore, posed as one having the key to the plan of the court and Cruzat.

Parenthetically, we have an idea of the governor-elect's talk and conduct during this time. Tremblay—who, as will be remembered, had warned Bishop Laval and the Priests of the Séminaire of Quebec against Cadillac—wrote two letters of the same date from Paris to M. Glandelet, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec. In the second of these he mentions having seen Cadillac and his whole family several times. He is, says Tremblay, a witty man, and is very judicious in refusing the Jesuits a house in Mobile, though by so doing against the urgent appeal of Father de Lamberville, he said that he had incurred the displeasure of the minister.[45] After a paragraph dealing with other matters, Tremblay continues as follows:

> M. the governor of Louisiana came to see me after I had written the above. He told me that M. de Pontchartrain had granted the monopoly of trade in that country to M. Crozat. He thinks a ship will leave for Louisiana toward the end of next September.
>
> He is at present well received by M. de Pontchartrain, and is resolved to grant the Jesuits only a warehouse where they can have a brother to receive their provisions.

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[44] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, May 2, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2: 671–673v.

[45] "That if it objected that the petitioner [Cadillac], when he came to France, ought to have obtained redress through M. de Pontchartrain, he replies that this minister was so biased against him by secret intrigues which cannot be explained (unless he is ordered to do so), that Pontchartrain indulged in fits of anger which, at the time, caused some sensation in Versailles." Cadillac to the Comte de Toulouse, Admiral of France, Head of the Council of the Navy, 1720, MPHS, 33: 657. Thus, Cadillac admits driving even the minister into fits of anger. Pontchartrain probably was most irritated at his disobedience in not going to Louisiana. Cadillac openly admits in this same letter to Toulouse (p. 650) that "he was forbidden to come to France, not merely until his post was established, but also until after peace was concluded, and not even to go there without orders." This he actually proves by two letters dated June 7, 1705, and June 6, 1708. Since he was "in the service" it remains an utter mystery how he was not court-martialled and how he ever with his record got any consideration let alone a position in the government.

He told M. de Lorme and me that he intended to give the king 1,200,000 livres on condition that he receives 200,000 livres for himself. The million which the king will receive will serve to pay the card-money of Canada and the letters of exchange drawn on the royal treasury . . . He claims that his plan will infallibly succeed, and that if it is not accepted, Canada will be irretrievably lost. He is certainly very witty and is very ingenious. If anybody can establish Louisiana, he is the man.[46]

Regarding the information about the Crozat monopoly, this had not yet been signed. Pontchartrain changed his mind about the Jesuits having a house in Mobile because pressure to this effect had caused the king to limit their activity to the Illinois country. We do not know the details of Cadillac's scheme for making the million livres for the king, but whatever it was his projects had no appeal for either Crozat or his majesty.

In the same month of June, 1712, Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain from Paris that he had given a memoir to Crozat. According to this memoir, he extended the boundaries of the colony of Louisiana so as to include the Wabash (that is, the Ohio River), the Illinois and the Sioux country. This would include all of the area rumored to have mines, though Cadillac had only the haziest notions about the extent of Louisiana. He seems to have felt the need of explaining his inaccuracy, always with an eye to pleasing the court and the powerful Crozat. "I must admit, my Lord, that I put these things in my memoir [to Crozat], but I beg your Highness to remember that I did this in order to engage him to take up Louisiana as you seemed to desire."[47] And in his letter of the following August to Pontchartrain, he is still more specific:

M. Crozat is not alone in this undertaking. According to your wish, and thanks to my exertions, he and others have an absorbing interest in the commercial possibilities of that country. I have given him a memoir and have spoken to him of the immense riches of Louisiana, of its mines of gold and silver, of its pearls, of its minerals.[48]

Antoine Crozat, Marquis de Châtel, banker, merchant, art collector, was given the monopoly of trade in Louisiana on September 14, 1712, which was to terminate in fifteen years, but he reckoned little on Cadillac's ability to aid in ending the grant within three years with a loss of some quarter of a million livres. Cadillac on his part very soon found out just how small he was to be in the general program. The king specified very clearly what his duties were to be

[46] Tremblay to Glandelet, June 15, 1712, Archives of the Séminaire of Quebec (Laval University), Lettres, Carton O, p. 17.
[47] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, June 29, 1712, AC, C 13A, 2: 676.
[48] *Id.* to *Id.*, August 14, 1712, *ibid.*, 688.

in a long supplementary memoir sealed at Versailles on December 18, 1712.[49] This changed substantially and supplemented minor details of Cadillac's instructions at the time of his appointment May 13, 1710.

Crozat was to control all commerce for fifteen years and all mines were to become his and his heirs' property. Cadillac was to obey Crozat, protect and aid his agents in finding mines, establishing factories and in agriculture. The details must have been harrowing to Cadillac. He was to see that ten marriageable girls arrived with each ship, encourage colonists, stop and prevent libertinism, maintain union and peace, and live in harmony with Sieur Jean Baptiste Duclos, the appointed Commissary General. Worst of all, Duclos was to have charge of the purse strings and all the king's funds. This made Cadillac a commander of some sixty soldiers, a policeman, a superintendant of buildings, and a judge, which was not the ideal he had of himself. Moreover: "His Majesty charges him again to give an example to the inhabitants in everything that may attract to religion the veneration and devotion that all ought to have for it and to inspire the officers, the soldiers and the inhabitants of the colonies to do so since they need the example of their superiors . . ."

Duclos received his corresponding orders the same day.[50] The chief innovation was the establishment of a Superior Council to judge civil and criminal cases. This was to be composed of Cadillac, Governor; Duclos, First Councillor; Bienville, the King's Lieutenant; and three others including an attorney general who were to be selected conjointly by Cadillac and Duclos. Two other special memoirs were given to Duclos, and these with the preceding ordered him especially to write reports on the conduct of affairs and any violations of the trade prohibitions.[51]

When everything was ready, Cadillac, his family, and *Commissaire Ordonnateur* Duclos went to La Rochelle and embarked on the *Baron de la Fauche*. After a brief stop at Brest, they sailed on March 18, reached Santo Domingo on April 29, and finally arrived at Dauphine Island, formerly Massacre Island, in Mobile Bay on June 5, 1713.[52]

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[49] Louis XIV to Cadillac, Dec. 18, 1712, Versailles, translation of Albert G. Sanders in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (October, 1932), 592–598.

[50] Royal Instructions for Duclos, Dec. 18, 1712, *Ibid.*, 598–607.

[51] King to Duclos, Dec. 24, 1712, and Pontchartrain to Duclos, Jan. 28, 1713, *Ibid.*, 607–609.

[52] Duclos to Pontchartrain, March 15, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3: 97, and another letter of May 3, 1713, *ibid.*, 109, and Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1713, *ibid.*, 1, give this data on the journey.

Anyone wishing to find out how the time was passed during the journey will have interesting reading in the long reports of Duclos, who, within six months of his arrival begged Pontchartrain to recall him, "because it is impossible for me to be able to live on good terms with Mr. De Lamothe Cadillac who is too crafty for me."[53] He then explains the "tricks" of Mr. De Lamothe. Cadillac's appointment three years before put him in charge of the funds, and he hoped to make up his Detroit losses (now more than 45,000 livres) in Louisiana. He had stated publicly more than once that Pontchartrain was responsible. Now, he had taken an aversion to Duclos because he was the purser. During the voyage he constantly tried to impress Duclos that it was

"dangerous to quarrel with him because he had a superior mind . . .'I have have seen myself opposed,' he used to say to me very often, 'by the intendant, the Governor General of Canada, the bishop, priests, curates, Jesuits and in short by everybody; I have quarrelled with M. De Champigny, M. Beauharnais, M. Raudot even, and I have always accomplished everything that I have undertaken, in spite of them all and in spite of everybody, and that by the strength of my character. My lord the Count de Pontchartrain told me so again recently when I was in Paris. 'Mr. De Lamothe, I am very much displeased with you but I cannot refrain from telling you that you have a superior mind, that you are a great officer and that I have never seen anything so well written as your letters.' . . .

He appeared to me in fact a very dangerous man not because of the superiority of his mind which I did not find superior except where his interest was concerned and very limited when anything else was concerned, but because I saw that he must really be a very uneasy and very restless man, . . . and furthermore because I saw in all the other talk that he uttered that he was one of the boldest liars that I have ever seen, and it is certain that a man as selfish as he is and at the same time as uneasy, restless and having no scruple to give out boldly as true the very things that are directly the most contrary to the truth, is always a man very much to be feared no matter what attention one may give not to deviate at all from his desire.[54]

The colony was in a sad condition, and Cadillac did what he could to make it worse. By July he had refused some flour to the starving colonists and had forced Declos to give forty-five barrels of the garrison's supply to the Spanish governor of Pensacola.[55]

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53 Duclos to Pontchartrain, October, 1713, AC, C 13A, 3: 149–195, translated by Professor Saunders in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVII, (April, 1934), 269.

54 *Ibid.*, 271–272.

55 Duclos to Pontchartrain, July 10, 1713, MPA, II, 75–76. Cadillac seems to have been justified in establishing friendly relations with the Spanish governors in the towns in and around the Gulf of Mexico, though his first duty was to organize the French colony as a center. Duclos states, (*Ibid.*, 89) "The intention and sole purpose of this Company is—one cannot doubt this—to find some way to establish a regular commerce with the in-

Then he demanded a house in the fort from Duclos, who had no authority for giving him one. He discouraged all of the inhabitants by saying publicly that the colony would definitely have to be abandoned. Then he went on a visit to Pensacola.

In his own account of his doings written in October he ended by saying: "I have been sick unto death for three months. Only for a week have I been somewhat convalescent. I do not understand how one can suffer so much without dying."[56] For one so sick he had moved around quite a bit, as his interminable report shows. Everything was wrong with Mobile; the fort was useless and might be washed away by the sea or blown away by a hurricane. There are no trees or rocks to repair it; the wheat does not grow; the fruit is no good; the tobacco is filled with vermin; the people are "a heap of the dregs of Canada, jailbirds . . . addicted to vice . . ."; there are no copper mines, but there are gold and silver mines in the land; "the officers who are here know absolutely nothing about the service; the people of the colony sell poultry and fresh supplies to the Spaniards because they pay a better price; the soldiers have tried to desert; there are no individuals suitable for the council, which has not been established; "If God grants me health I shall try to restore this colony which is not worth a straw at the present time." These are some of the items. On the personal side, he asked for his salary for the years 1711 and 1712, "although you ordered the commissary not to pay it because I was absent from my government."

Going in the same mail bag was Duclos' report and letter cited previously, asking to be recalled because of the tricks of Cadillac, and a letter of Cadillac to Crozat.[57] Crozat was informed by the governor of the very bad conditions of the colony and of the possibility of raising silkworms "unless the thunder which is very frequent there [in Louisiana] is unfavorable to silkworms." Cadillac did not think commerce could be carried on at the Spanish ports, but he did think the trade rules could be circumvented by trading at

habitants of Old or New Mexico." Duclos knew that there was no possibility of commerce with Pensacola, which was as badly off as Dauphine Island, or with Vera Cruz because of the strict port rules; he saw possibilities in Matagorda Bay as a port of entry that might be explored for possible trade and contact with the Santa Barbara mining area of upper Mexico, and thus was following the scheme of La Salle of 1684–1685. Duclos finished a report to Pontchartrain on October 13, 1713, which must have taken most of the five months to compose. It runs from p. 79 to 162 as printed in MPA, II. Cadillac's report follows this, 162–204, and cannot compare with it in details or analysis of the situation.

[56] *Ibid.*, 179.

[57] Abstract of Letter of Cadillac to Crozat, October, 1713, MPA, III, 175.

New Mexico and so had sent St. Denis up the Red River. Cadillac also mentions the possibility of trade opened up by Fray Francisco Hidalgo, who was interested in the Spanish missions of Texas.[58] Cleverest of all his tricks was to accuse Duclos and Bienville of trading for the king in competition to Crozat's agents. In fact, he called for very vigorous regulations to prevent everybody from trading and asked to send Bienville to Biloxi to remove him from every opportunity of commerce. The superior intellect of Cadillac was characterized, as reading the entire correspondence will prove, by an ability in the policy of trimming; constantly he told one person or official some damning story about another and thus engineered serious dissentions and personal dislikes. Thus analyzing him Duclos proved himself quite a judge of men.

While the sober and legalistic Duclos took Cadillac seriously, supposing probably that shrewd men like the king, the minister, and the financier knew what they were doing in making such an appointment, a fairly rash supposition, Bienville judged him by what he did and said and came to the conclusion that Cadillac was an ass. His scheme of trading via New Mexico appeared to Bienville as silly; in fact his whole idea of commerce was useless in view of the few inhabitants of Louisiana.[59] Bienville laughed at him when Cadillac arrested him and sent him to his house for a day.[60] It became evident, however, to Bienville during the course of the next year and a half that Cadillac, fool or malicious intriguer no matter which, was a dangerous man. In a series of reports he states the reasons, which are too numerous to give here in detail and only confirm all that has been said about Cadillac's plotting.[61] The series of events leading to the governor's recall starts when Crozat and the gay minister began to believe some of the very many of complaints against him.

Cadillac went north to the Illinois country to look for silver mines

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[58] *Ibid.*, 176. For a documentary account of Hidalgo and the St. Denis trip of 1714 see Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519–1936*, Volume II, *The Winning of Texas*, 24–32.

[59] Abstract of Bienville's letter, MPA, III, 178.

[60] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, May 16, 1714, *Ibid.*, 178–180. This is one of the most childish of all Cadillac's writings.

[61] Bienville to Pontchartrain, June 15, 1715, *Ibid.*, 181 ff. Cadillac left for the north without telling anybody or giving Bienville orders. The latter found out he was gone a week after his departure (186), and two months later Bienville got orders and the information that Cadillac "was going to the Illinois country." Northern Indians came to Bienville to tell him that "all the nations had received the English because of the bad reception that M. de Lamothe had given them and that they had declared that they did not wish to have anything to do with the French as long as M. de Lamothe was here . . ." (187) Cadillac remained away for eight months, (191).

in the spring of 1715.[62] By the end of that year the Indians of the whole Mississippi Valley were either turbulent or at war, particularly the Cherokees and the Kaskaskias. Bienville noted in January, 1716: "It seems that Mr. de Lamothe has inspired war in all the nations established on the St. Louis River. That will not fail to defer greatly the establishments that your Lordship orders me to go and make on that river [the Mississippi], unless I am well supplied with men."[63] In that same month Cadillac was blandly reporting that all was quiet in the colony since his return.[64] There remains only one clique which he has to break up: Bienville, Boisbriant, a major, two captains, an adjutant and an ensign, are named first, and later he adds Duclos and Raujan. Twenty one men had deserted, he says, through the fault of Bienville, and four others deserted later and went to Pensacola. He thinks, the notes continue, that the clerk deserves to be hanged, and he has appointed Sieur de la Tour major, but he "talks of nothing but killing and hanging without reason."[65] Thus, all seemed quiet.

All such deeds were revealing and alarming to the ministry and Crozat. In February, 1716, a note to a memoir presented to the Conseil de Marine which was now in charge of the colonies, says that is necessary above all "to replace MM. de Lamothe and Duclos by more capable administrators."[66] On March 1, Crozat proposed L'Espinay to take Cadillac's place,[67] and two days later the order of recall and the appointment of L'Espinay were issued, though it was October before the new governor received his instructions and the old one his order to return.[68] Duclos remained until the Crozat monopoly was terminated.

Meantime, on July 1, Cadillac wrote to the Conseil: "The colony of Louisiana is a monster that has no form of government."[69] He did not know that Crozat already knew this and blamed it all upon Cadillac. Crozat, the note reads,

agrees that the colony is in horrible disorder but that is the result of the disunion that Mr. De Lamothe has brought into it and of the fact that he was unwilling to execute any orders that were sent him to establish the commerce

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62 He arrived at Kaskaskia on May 11, 1715; AC, C 13A, 3: 363.
63 Bienville to Raudot, Jan. 20, 1716, MPA, III, 200.
64 Minutes of the Council, abstract of Cadillac's letter of Jan. 2, 1716, MPA, II, 209–212.
65 *Ibid.*, 217.
66 Memoire sur la Louisiane, Feb. 8, 1716, AC, C 13A, 4: 30.
67 Crozat to Comte de Toulouse, [March 1], 1716, AC C 13A, 4: 1020.
68 Council of Marine to L'Espinay, March 3, 1716, AC, B 38: 88, and 326v and Minutes of the Council, October 10, 1716, AM, B 1, 9: 144 ff.
69 MPA, II, 219.

of the Mississippi River, and of his bad conduct toward the Indian nations, with all of whom he has found a way to get into a quarrel.

Later in the notes of the council meeting the comments on Cadillac's criticism of the fort read: "It is his fault that he has not put it in a better condition." As to the mine: "Lamothe has done nothing . . . except write about it in very general terms so that it was not from him that the details of it were learned." It apparently had dawned upon the authorities that Cadillac was actually a dangerous man, and from then on his words were to be viewed with suspicion; he was in effect one always talking against the government and one who for his own gains might deal with the Spanish or English or Indians. He might be a spy or traitor.

When the ship bringing L'Espinay arrived in Mobile Bay, in the spring of 1717 Cadillac went on board to pay his respects to the new governor. The same promptly gave orders that his predecessor was not to land again and was to be watched.[70] Bienville already had command of the handful of troops still remaining. In spite of L'Espinay's orders he must have returned to shore, for he embarked on another ship, the *Paon,* and arrived at La Rochelle "with his whole family," on September 1, 1717.[71] He was out of America forever. His only contribution to the American development was the assumed name Cadillac, which a vast American industry has later made famous.

III. Last Years in France

Things at Versailles had changed, probably for the worse, by the time of the arrival of the Lamothe family in France, on the second anniversary of the death of Louis XIV. Louis XV at the age of seven was too young to know how badly off his country was after the wars. Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, had succeeded his father Jérôme Phelypeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain, as secretary of state for the marine or minister of the navy, whichever sounded best. At the ripe young age of fourteen he was twice as old as the king, and was beginning to sparkle as a court wit, following the tastes in frivolity of his father. The sire, after seventeen years service as minister of marine and chief court entertainer, was forced to resign ten days after Louis XIV breathed his last. The Council of the Marine had successfully accused him of completely mismanaging

[70] Lemaire to ....., May 28, 1717, Archives of the Séminaire of Quebec, Laval University, Missions, Carton no. 47.

[71] Minutes of the Council of Marine, May 3, 1718, AM, B 1, 29: 434.

naval affairs and of abusing his high position to gather profits for himself.

From La Rochelle Cadillac promptly posted a letter to the Council. He informed that reforming body that he "was waiting for orders." His presumption was that he was still "in the service." The Council answered: "He may come to Paris, or stay at La Rochelle, or go anywhere he wishes."[72] The Council was decidedly tired of Cadillac and his ilk, but if it thought that he was going to understand this and leave them in peace, it soon learned differently.

Less than a month after landing in France, Cadillac and his eldest son were clapped into the Bastille.[73] The reason behind this action was that the monopoly of the trade of Louisiana had been taken away from Crozat and turned over to the "Compagnie d'Occident." In order to entice people to go to Louisiana, the new Company had launched a propaganda campaign describing the colony as another Eldorado.[74] Memoirs were made public carefully chosen to represent Louisiana as one of the most fertile countries in the world, enjoying several harvests every year, where there were forests of timber and of precious woods, and herds of buffalo whose flesh was more delicate than the flesh of the oxen in France and whose wool was "of a higher quality than that of the sheep in Europe."[75] Cadillac, who had just returned from Louisiana, was naive enough to protest publicly and loudly against these fanciful descriptions of Louisiana, and the Company of the West had him sent to the Bastille.

The charge preferred against him, as listed in his dossier, were evidently trumped up as an excuse for the Company's action:

> Suspected of having made speeches against the government and against the colonies; accused of having written memoirs contrary to the welfare of the state. Father and son were always going out together in a carriage bearing the arms of the Princess de Conti, which had been given to them by M. Lebart, her treasurer. They lodged at the Hôtel Dauphin and came back every evening at seven o'clock and did not go out again.[76]

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[72] Minutes of the Conseil de Marine on Cadillac's letter of August 29, 1717, AC, C 13A, 5: 16.

[73] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, *Bastille*, Registre d'écrou, 12479: 31. The entry is dated September 27, 1717. Cf. also *ibid.*, 12482: 72.—"Aujourd'huy 12e octobre 1717, jay ouvert le papier cacheté de mon cachet que ie reconnois etre en meme etat que lorsque ie lai cacheté dans lequel etoit trois clefs lune de ma male que iay retenu et les deux autres des armoires qui sont dans la chambre de mon autesse, que je luy ai envoyé pour avoir mon linge et mes hardes. Lamothe." Holograph, *ibid.*, 73.

[74] Cf. *Le Nouveau Mercure* for September 1717, pp. 130–134. It was shortly after the publication of this description that Cadillac was arrested.

[75] Cf. AC, C 13A, 5: 13.

[76] Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, *Bastille*, 10631: 37. The clerk wrote on the preceding page: "Il n'y a point d'Interrogatoires." They left the Bastille on February 8, 1718.

Father and son were kept in the Bastille four months and a half. As soon as they were out, Cadillac again began characteristically to ask for money. Even before his imprisonment, he had drawn up an itemized statement of the salary which was still due to him. Crozat, he said, had paid only sixteenth months' salary (for the whole of 1714 and the first months of 1715); whereas he had been appointed governor on May 5, 1710 and had remained in office until August 31, 1717. He therefore claims a total of 23,956 livres and four deniers.[77]

The above statement was elaborated in a memoir presented to the Council on March 11, 1718, a little more than a month after his release. He begins by saying that he is in extreme need, owing to the long voyage he had been forced to make. His voyage to and from Louisiana, for instance, cost him 60,000 livres. He does not, to this day, know why he was recalled, unless because of the calumnies of his enemies. After enumerating his long and varied services, he says that he now finds himself "without a sol." He is sixty years old and has a numerous family, but is without employment, without any pension, without protection, after having been out of the kingdom for so long. Lastly, he has spent five months in the Bastille with his son, whose lieutenancy in Louisiana has been taken away.[78] Neither he nor his son knows what may have been the cause of this disgrace. Hence he is asking for the continuation of his pay as governor, "or at least a yearly gratuity until he can find some employment so that he can make a living in France and not be obliged to beg in the streets."[79]

He clearly had no intention of "begging in the streets" so long as he could get money from the Council. When that body granted his first request, for his pay as governor from the time of his nomination May 5, 1710, until the end of 1712,[80] he at once petitioned for his salary from May 1, 1715 until September 1, 1717. As soon as Cadillac began to ask for his pay, the Council had written to Cro-

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77 Estat des appointmens qui sont dus au Sieur de Lamothe, AC, C 11E, 15: 85.

78 Cadillac's son wrote to the Conseil de la Marine on the same day, saying that while he was in the Bastille, the Company of the West had taken away his lieutenancy. He asked for a captaincy in Canada or in the Islands. He recalled that he was a cadet from 1701 to 1705, in which year he was made an ensign, and then a lieutenant. In all, he has been seventeen years in the service. Cadillac *fils* to the Conseil de Marine, March 11, 1718, AM, B 1, 29: 249.

79 Cadillac to the Conseil de Marine, March 11, 1718, *ibid.*, 272v–273v.

80 Conseil de Marine to Cadillac, March, 1718, AC, B1, 29: 397–397v. The order to pay is dated April 9, AC, F 1, 20: 46.

zat for information,[81] and as the financier did not answer, a second letter was sent to him.[82] The answer to this second letter was commented upon by Cadillac, who made a distinction between Crozat as treasurer in Louisiana and as merchant. The Régent granted Cadillac's petition,[83] but still the latter was not satisfied. Less than three weeks later, he again wrote to the Council asking that he be paid his salary for the last four months of 1717 and the first four months of 1718, for he was, he said, without money for his own subsistence and that of his family.[84] The Régent answered that since Cadillac had been paid up to December 31, 1717, that is, four months after he had ceased to have any right to his salary as governor, "His Highness wishes that you wait for his orders on this matter."[85]

Though Cadillac thus succeeded in wangling from the Régent his salary after he had ceased to earn it, if he had ever earned it, there was another matter which was still pending: the question of his property at Detroit. While still in Louisiana after the death of Laforest (1714), he had taken Tonti to task about the disposition of his property, but the latter was even more determined than Laforest and wanted to go to France to defend himself there. The fight over this property was continued by Cadillac's heirs long after his death,[86] until 1787 when the Massachussetts Assembly gave Cadillac's granddaughter, Mme Grégoire, that part of Mt. Desert which had not been sold. His heirs finally abandoned the concession in 1811, and thereafter are "lost to sight."[87]

Cadillac's own interest in the Detroit property is manifested in the flood of memoirs and begging letters which he let loose upon

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81 Conseil de Marine to Crozat, March 18, 1718, AC, B 40: 107.

82 *Id.* to *Id.*, April 3, 1718, ibid., 116.

83 Minutes of the Conseil de Marine on Cadillac's request for arrears of pay, May 3, 1718, AM, B 1, 29: 434–436. The order to pay is dated May 6, 1718, AC, F 1, 20: 49.

84 Cadillac to the Conseil de Marine, May 24, 1718, AM, B 1, 29: 538.

85 Conseil de Marine to Le Couturier, September 30, 1718, AC, B 40: 181v.—Cadillac had also asked for the reimbursement of 1,080 livres which he paid for the renting of a house when he arrived in Louisiana (AM, B 1, 29: 248v and 437). The order to pay is dated May 6, 1718, AC, F 1, 20: 50.

86 Margry, 5: 346 note 1; MPHS, 34: 106–107, etc. Cf. AN, Côte C, Marine 163, pièce 6. In the abstract printed in MPHS, the widow and sons of Cadillac asked permission on Feb. 10, 1733, to go to Detroit, settle, and have the same rights as Cadillac had had; they added considerable to the claims he had been making, saying that he had built a brewery, a smithy, and gardens, at a cost of 150,000 livres to himself. If His Majesty did not want Detroit resettled the Cadillac's would take, in lieu of Detroit, either the revenues from Castell Sarrazin or a pension for each of themselves!

87 G. E. Street, *Mount Desert*, Boston and New York, 1905, 128 ff.

the Council between 1718 and 1722.[88] A full analysis of this mass of writing would be wearisome, since each succeeding memoir repeats its predecessors with slight variations, and with unsupported accusations against all and sundry. How completely he misrepresented conditions at Detroit can be seen from the marginal notations made by Vaudreuil and Bégon. The latter had succeeded Raudot as intendant, and the Council sent Cadillac's memoirs to them both for comment and clarification. The marginal "answers" of the governor and the intendant are dated from Quebec, November 4, 1721, three years after Cadillac's first memoir to the Council on this subject.[89]

They begin by making it quite clear that Cadillac was not at all instrumental in making the peace with the Iroquois in 1700. Next they remark that when Detroit was founded in 1701, the king, and not Cadillac, had paid for it. The clearing of the land was done partly at the king's expense and partly at the expense of the Company; and later extensions of the clearing did not cost Cadillac a cent, since this work was done by the soldiers whose pay he himself kept. As for the fort of Detroit, it had been greatly reduced at the time of the war with the Foxes, and Cadillac's house is now outside the fort.

In one of his memoirs Cadillac speaks of the "whole of Detroit" having been cleared, that is, from the discharge of Lake Huron to the entrance of Lake Erie; but all the land cultivated, including that of the French and of the Indians, comprises four and three-fourths leagues (about 13 miles), quite a difference from the 125 miles that comprise the "whole of Detroit." As for the concessions granted to his children, to which Cadillac refers, no clearing was made and no house was ever built on this land; yet one of the chief conditions for the validity of concessions was to have had a house built on the land within a year and a day, on penalty of forfeiting the land grant. Instead of the 276 Frenchmen whom Cadillac claimed to be at Detroit, in 1721, the only French inhabitants there at the time were Delorme, Desrochers, Aubin and the widow Beauceron, each of whom had two arpents frontage on twenty arpents deep.

The different tribes which Cadillac named as settled near Detroit were simply clans of one tribe. Cadillac, the administrators of Canada go on to say, cannot claim any reward for having enticed these

[88] All these memoirs are in AC, C 11E, 15: 91 ff; most of them are translated in MPHS, 33: 598 ff, 602 ff, 614 ff, etc.

[89] Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Conseil de Marine, November 4, 1721, MPHS, 33: 677 ff.

Indians to come to Detroit, for the presents which he gave them were sent by the king or by the Company. While he had the exclusive privilege of trade at Detroit, only two tribes came near the settlement: the Potawatomi and the Foxes.

Cadillac also said that he had induced tribes to come to Detroit who lived three and four hundred leagues away. Vaudreuil and Bégon explained to the Council that the most remote tribes were those of Michilimackinac, which was one hundred and thirty leagues from Detroit. When he "induced" these Indians to come, and gave notice to the tribes living on the shores of Green Bay and at Chequamigon, all the presents which he sent them were paid for by the king. He did not incur any expense for the forts which the Indians themselves built, for the gates of these forts were made by a carpenter paid by the king, "and no house was built within these forts for the missionaries, as there have not been any missionaries in the village from the first settlement until now."

They then made clear the status of the missionaries at Detroit. From 1701 to 1706, there was one Recollect at the post (Father De l'Halle), who was taking care of the French in the fort itself. In 1706, two Recollects went to Detroit and also lived within the fort; one of these two, Father Dominique De la Marche, learned the Huron language, and three years later returned to Quebec. Since that time there has been only one Recollect at Detroit. The two Recollects were paid by the king from 1706 to 1709, receiving 500 livres each. The surgeon and the armorer at the fort were also paid by the king until 1709, when Pontchartrain wrote that from then on Cadillac would have to defray these expenses. Beginning with 1709, the chaplain at the fort was paid partly by Cadillac and partly by the inhabitants. The chapel furnishings were originally bought by the Company, but since Cadillac later reimbursed the Company for this expense, Vaudreuil and Bégon admit that the furnishings now belong to him.

As for the salary which Cadillac paid to the interpreter, he has been sufficiently repaid by the profits of the trade which he carried on with the Indians, since all trade would have been impossible had there been nobody to serve as intermediary between himself and the Indians. He neither fed nor paid any of the officers who served under him; but merely allowed Laforest to bring to Detroit two canoes laden with merchandise, while the other officers were allowed to bring one canoe each.

Since Acadia is now in the hands of the English, his "fief" at

Port Royal is now lost to him. The island of Mt. Desert, as well as a grant on the mainland of four square leagues, cannot be made the basis of a claim for reimbursement: "He has only been once to Mt. Desert Island, about thirty years ago. MM. de Vaudreuil and de Ramezay saw for themselves, on their way to France [in 1716], that there was no settlement there at the time. Hence the favor which the king did him in granting that seigniory has caused him no expense."

His Majesty, therefore, need not take any notice of the so-called claims of Cadillac, since it is notorious that by trading with the Indians at Detroit, he made large profits which sufficiently indemnify him. He is entitled, however, to what Pierre Roy took into custody when Cadillac left Detroit, and his cattle ought to be returned to him. His "buildings" at Detroit consist of a house of stakes, and of a barn which was destroyed during the war with the Foxes. If Cadillac wishes to sue, he can do so in Canada, where there are judges at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, and he can, if he wishes, appeal to the Sovereign Council.

This answer of Vaudreuil and Bégon must have reached France by the beginning of 1722. Since the claims and counterclaims had by now been dragging on for four years, it was time to put an end to them. So on May 19, 1722, the king issued an edict which settled once for all Cadillac's claims on Detroit.

The edict begins by recalling the origins of the settlement, and then summarizes the contents of Cadillac's letters and memoirs as well as the answers of Vaudreuil and Bégon. It next mentions the various decrees issued by the king, and the letters patent of April, 1716, which revoked all concessions made by Cadillac at Detroit.[90] Finally, it states very exactly what Cadillac is entitled to at present:

He shall be put in possession of the land cleared by him at Detroit, but no more than forty arpents in depth. In two years' time counting from today, Cadillac must place landmarks on this property and report the said landmarks to Paris. According to the royal letters patent issued on July 23, 1720,[91] on all cleared land His Majesty grants the rights of fishing and hunting, as also the ownership of buildings erected outside the fort. Cadillac has the right to all the lands granted by himself to the inhabitants of Detroit if these grants have not been abandoned, but he has no right to claim the ten livres which he demanded for such concessions. "The said

90 *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain,* 6: 1213.
91 In MPHS, 33: 670 f.

Sieur de Lamothe, his heirs and assigns, may have the possession of all the above as of something belonging to them, without having to pay any moneys or indemnity to His Majesty or to his successors."

The king goes on to declare that Cadillac should be put in possession of all his movables and belongings which are at Detroit, and he may bring suit wherever he wishes against those who have taken the said movables and belongings, but he may not sue for the ammunition and other goods which were taken from Cadillac's warehouse for the defense of Detroit in 1712. The restitution of ammunition and other goods must be made by sieur Dubuisson, who shall be constrained to indemnify sieur de Lamothe. "His Majesty has granted the sum of 2,000 livres, which he wishes the royal treasurer to pay to him in virtue of the ordinance which will be sent to that effect, and he has non-suited the said Sieur de Lamothe of all his other demands and petitions. All the above shall be executed in virtue of the present edict notwithstanding any opposition whatsoever."[92]

Later in 1722, Vaudreuil and Bégon wrote to the Council that they would "conform to the decree and take in hand its execution."[93] In the following year they wrote again saying that Cadillac "has only been allowed two years from the date of the edict" to have the boundaries of his land marked and to forward a report to the king.[94] By this time, Cadillac was too old to go back to Canada, so he sold his Detroit rights to a man in Quebec, Joseph Baudry *dit* Lamarche. This man brought suit against Tonti, demanding that the latter pay him for Cadillac's farm and mill, and that he make good the price of the cattle. The lengthy delays and the long correspondence with France on this subject until the death of Tonti (1727) are outside the scope of this book.

On September 19, 1723, Cadillac was inducted as mayor of Castelsarrasin (a small town situated twelve miles from Montauban, Tarn-et-Garonne) with a yearly salary of 120 livres.[95] Hence he must have applied for this office shortly after the date of the edict of May 1722.

His last years are as little known as the years which precede his coming to America. He died at Castelsarrasin on October 15, 1730. The burial acted reads as follows:

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92 Arrest en faveur du Sr de la Mothe Cadillac, May 19, 1722, AC, B 45: 869–885.

93 Vaudreuil and Bégon to the Conseil de Marine, October 17, 1722, MPHS, 33: 709 f.

94 Vaudreuil and Bégon to Maurepas, October 14, 1723, MPHS, 34: 12.

95 Commission as mayor for Cadillac, MPHS, 34: 298 f.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty, on October the sixteenth, was buried in the church of the Reverend Carmelite Fathers, Messire Antoine [de] Lamothe Cadillac, knight of the military order of St. Louis, former governor for the king of the Province of Louisiana, chief of the Superior Council of the said province, and former governor of this town of Castelsarrasin. He died around midnight, aged about seventy-three years. MM. François de Lamothe Cadillac, his son, and Jean Pierre Descombels, who have signed with me, attended the funeral.

Albepar, priest, curate; François de Lamothe Cadillac; Descombels.[96]

The only other detail which we know about Cadillac is found in the inventory which his son, Joseph de Lamothe Cadillac, asked to be taken in 1731. From it we learn that Cadillac is probably the only settler in the American wilderness who had his portrait painted. The inventory reads that there were "four paintings, one with a gilded frame, representing the said sieur de Lamothe, and three others, without frame, representing Dame de Guyon, sieur de Lamothe, his son, and his eldest daughter."[97] What became of this portrait is not known.

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For a final estimate of Cadillac's character and contribution to the development of the French colonies in our Great Lakes area and in Louisiana, it would be very pleasant to be able to say at least some few words of praise, especially at this time when Detroit is celebrating its foundation by Cadillac two hundred and fifty years ago. However much the writers devoted to the history of Michigan have endeavored to advance the cause of their pioneer they have found themselves singularly lacking in evidence of stability and maturity. Scene by scene, in Acadia, in Quebec, Montreal, Michilimackinac, Detroit, Louisiana, and in France, his character remained undeveloped as years went by.

In Louisiana and Mississippi others have attempted to make something of a hero of their pioneer. Henry P. Dart, for instance, in his general kindness toward the early governors of Louisiana, hoped somehow to make of Cadillac some kind of a respected personage. In his introduction to Saunders' translation of the previously mentioned Crozat documents he calls for a newer evaluation of the Crozat monopoly, one which might change Martin's denouncia-

[96] J. H. Greusel, *Mystery of Cadillac's Lost Grave*, 23.
[97] Forestié, *Lamothe Cadillac*, 15.

tion. This was, Dart said, "almost wholly without attention to the tremendous local disturbances created by the Crozat monopoly and by the vigorous efforts of Governor Cadillac to force the scanty population of Louisiana to comply with its provisions." Dart was not prepared to say to what extent the new documents on Cadillac would alter the judgment of history, but, like others in the north before him, he seemed to have hopes that Cadillac's reputation might be polished a little. His mind underwent some misgivings when he was faced with the words of Duclos and Bienville. He was already partial to Bienville and he had to conclude that Duclos "was a vigorous, honest man, wholly devoted to the colony." Although Dart did not get to make the logical conclusion it would seem that between the statements of Duclos and Cadillac he chose those of Duclos as true and those of Cadillac as false, and thus could do no more to bolster the reputation of Louisiana's early governor.

In a review of the opinions of those with whom Cadillac came into contact in North America, we recall that the first official was Governor Meneval. His characterization was: "This Cadillac, the most malicious man in the world, is a rattle-headed fellow, driven out of France for I know not what crimes." Meneval's estimate was accepted at the French court. The official who annotated Meneval's letter noted that Cadillac was an adventurer "quite capable of the practices mentioned by M. de Meneval." What Cadillac had been involved in before his arrival in America is not known, but it is clear that he was very careful to keep his past a secret. Another point on his character is very clear. All through his career he sought out for companions law violators or men willing to turn a dishonest penny, and all through his career he attacked most viciously those who stood especially for truth and law, beginning with the Jesuits.

As Cadillac moved west from Acadia to Michilimackinac his abiding passion to make money in any and every way, except by plodding, honest means, became greater. Champigny found him guilty of violating all edicts and laws in the matter of brandy sales. There is no question of his guilt in this and his maladministration in office. Suits against him resulted in fines and a jail sentence. In these he revealed an outstanding ability to "wriggle off the hook" and remain somehow in "the king's service." In his own way he became widely acquainted with the French colonial laws and the processes of law, so much so that one would think he had training in law from the manner in which he followed legalities. But no

trained lawyer would dare to draft such briefs as Cadillac perpetrated. His training was from his constant alertness to see how the law could be evaded and, in the event of his own law evasion, how the process of law could be obstructed. The manner in which he did drag out his own cases is a sad commentary on the efficiency of the French courts and the administration of justice. Cadillac seemed ever to revel in suits and petty legalities.

The Company of the Colony in whose employ he was at Detroit, the Raudots, Laforest, and Dubuisson were each and all keenly aware that Cadillac could not be trusted. Vaudreuil expressed very openly to the court his distrust of the man. This brings us to the outstanding characteristic of Cadillac—his incurable mendacity. He lied with or without provocation, he lied to gain his own ends, he lied possibly to amuse the courtiers, if fact his mental processes tended toward falsehoods, just as those of a normal being tend toward truth. In detail, we have seen how he forged his own patent of nobility. He falsified his name, his parents name, his age, his lineage. He lied about his knowledge of the coasts of America, the interior, about his knowledge of Indian languages, about the Indians, the officials, the Jesuits. There is no doubt that some of his prevarication was objectively malicious, especially when he brought about quarrels and hard feelings between officials or company agents by his misrepresentation of one to another. He practiced the same deceits on the Indian chiefs. As a disturber of the peace he seems to have no peer in French colonial times.

Why was it that the court of France tolerated such a man in its employ? Did the court not know of his unstable character, when everybody with whom he came into contact knew of it? Perhaps the answer to these questions lies in the actual conditions of the court itself, its tolerance of tale-bearing and scandal-mongering, of cheating and intrigue. Certainly, as we have said before, Cadillac was rated as witty and clever, and his letters are perhaps the wittiest that came from the colonies. Certainly, there were others in the court circles as addle-pated and shallow as Cadillac. Perhaps he was merely aping the powdered wigs headed by such as the younger Pontchartrain. Assuredly, he had one belief in common with the courtiers and that was that the government owed him a living. His cleverness and wit and shrewdness are scarcely to be interpreted as intelligence. Perhaps, such a scatter-brained individual should not have been taken seriously, perhaps many of his letters should be

laughed off, and perhaps Cadillac's own characterization of himself as a quarrelsome fellow is the best.

But historians have taken Cadillac and his prolific writings seriously, as they should have, in view of the fact that he was placed in responsible positions. Because he was so placed, some historians have assumed that he was a solid character, capable of assuming responsibilities. There is no evidence to show that he was in any way concerned about the lives or property of soldiers or settlers officially placed under his care, or in any way concerned about duties. From his deeds and writings one can only estimate him as unsufferably selfish. People were for his use, they were classified by him as those who agreed with him or those who disagreed with him. The latter were his enemies, and the class grew so numerous that he simply could not indicate one friend. Where psychologists or psychoanalists might place him would be of some interest. Historians will conclude that he had neither vision nor ability, for there is no evidence of either. He had no friends, nor did he establish any loyalties. In the rough frontier he was not accepted by his fellows or by the Indians. All in all, the best character estimate of Cadillac is derived from the opinions of the first and last officials with whom he was associated in Acadia and in Louisiana—Meneval and Duclos.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Bibliography on Cadillac

Editor's Note. A note left by Father Delanglez at the end of his manuscript stated that the bibliography as well as the final title of his work would be given after the galley proofs were ready. Deanglez hesitated about choosing a title. Should it be "Cadillac and the Jesuits," or "Cadillac and the Jesuits in the Old Northwest," or "A Life of Cadillac" as some wished? He did not think that Cadillac's achievement in Michigan and Louisiana was worth a complete biography, which, if written, would only have added a few more chapters to what he had already done, we feel. The question was not fully resolved at the time of his death, but from his notes it would seem that he intended to add more about the Louisiana scene, more than he had already written in previous articles and books.

Be this as it may, we feel somewhat obliged to compile a bibliography such as he might have made for his book. Throughout his series of articles published in these pages since 1944, a critical analysis of each book listed appears where it was first cited. The general works and special studies are not many, since Delanglez based his writing almost entirely on archival materials—manuscripts or published documents or translations of these. For a full description of the archive materials one may turn to Delanglez's *Frontenac and the Jesuits* and his *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana.*

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Report on Mission Santa Rosalía

Introduction

In an earlier volume of this quarterly an analysis was made of the contents of the record book kept at the old mission of Santa Rosalía Mulegé in Lower California.[1] Records of baptisms, marriages, and burials were signed year after year by the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican missionaries from 1718 to 1845, one hundred and twenty-seven years. Besides the vital statistics, inventories and accounts were kept. It seems well now to publish some pages from another old manuscript record, and none could be more suitable than Father Luyando's report of 1730.

For purposes of establishing connections it may be recalled that Juan María Salvatierra pioneered the Jesuit move to Baja California when he planted his mission at Loreto in 1697. Loreto remains a place name on the Lower California map, about one-third the distance up the eastern side from the peninsula's lower tip. Eight years later, Juan Manuel Basaldúa established Santa Rosalía on Río Mulegé, seventy-five miles to the north of Loreto. The name Santa Rosalía has now been transplanted to a mining town on the Gulf coast about fifty miles north of the old mission, while Santa Rosalía is known simply as Mulegé. Basaldúa went into the country in 1705 and about half a league up the winding river canyon from the coast chose his mission site. There in one of the few oases of the barren Baja California and along one of its very few streams Basaldúa built his thatched house and church, organized the Indian life, began agriculture by irrigation, and imported live stock.

After three years he was succeeded in the mission post by Father Francisco María Pícolo, one of Lower California's sturdiest pioneers, who in 1718 turned over his charge to Father Sebastián Sistiaga. Sistiaga, noted for his thirty years of missionary work in various of the then eleven Jesuit missions of the peninsula, began the record book of Santa Rosalía. After nearly ten years a new hand commenced to sign the records, that of Father Juan Bautista Luyando, missionary from San Ignacio.

The Jesuits had long been in contact with the natives of that

[1] Peter Masten Dunne, "The Record Book of a Lower California Mission", MID-AMERICA, XXIX (July, 1947), 185–200.

fertile upland spot, later known as Mission San Ignacio. Pícolo first trudged up there in November, 1716, with a small packtrain and some Christian Indians from Mulegé, where he was then residing. He found the natives friendly and realized that here, near the flowing stream, would be a future mission. He gave the place a name, San Ignacio. He visited the natives from time to time, promising them a permanent padre. When Pícolo was replaced at Mulegé by Father Sebastián Sistiaga, the latter continued the visits to preserve fresh and warm the friendly spirit of the natives. Finally after twelve years of waiting the time arrived when Sistiaga could go up into the country to announce the proximate arrival of a resident Black Robe. He was to be Father Luyando.

This Mexican born Jesuit enjoyed the unique distinction of being financial founder and first missionary of the establishment at San Ignacio. Upon the death of his parents he had willed his patrimony to this mission. He was designated its first missionary and crossed the Gulf to abide there late in 1727. By October he was at Mulegé with Sistiaga, learning the Indian tongue. In January of the following year he and Sistiaga made their way to San Ignacio in the company of nine soldiers.

The natives were delighted at this fulfillment of an olden promise. Work was immediately begun upon a rude chapel and a house for the missionary. Sistiaga returned to his mission at Mulegé, and Luyando soon dismissed seven of the nine soldiers.[2] But Sistiaga was soon ordered to Loreto and became superior of all the California missions. This left Mulegé without a resident padre. It was then that Luyando, besides attending his own San Ignacio high in the mountains, took charge likewise of Santa Rosalía Mulegé on the Gulf coast fifty rugged miles to the southeast. This explains how we have the present report from him. His name appears in the record book, registering baptisms and marriages, from October 24, 1727, (which was before he went to San Ignacio) to October 29, 1732. Midway between these dates he drew up the illuminating document we are presenting.

The occasion for the report was Father José de Echeverría, an energetic man, who had been sent across the Gulf to Lower California as official visitor, or inspector, of the missions of the rock-ridden peninsula. History is grateful to him for the letters he wrote, the records he compiled, and for the reports on the various missions

[2] At least one soldier usually resided with the missionary in these California establishments, both to protect the father from possible violence and to watch over things when the padre would be away.

which he ordered to be made. The scope, the qualities, and the minute details of the resulting documents can best be gathered from the translation of Luyando's *Informe.*

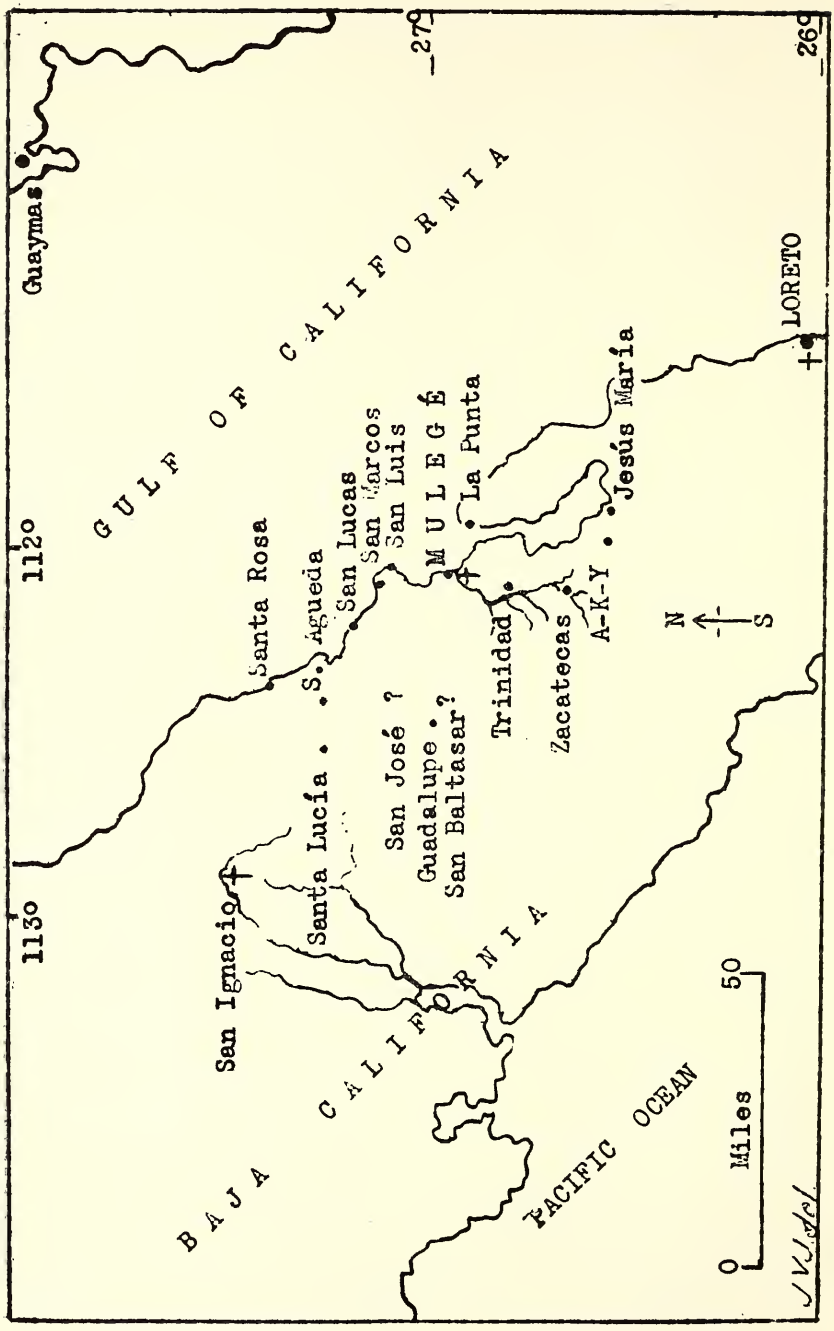
Visitor Echeverría in his letters to the Marqués de Villapuente gives details and figures concerning the newly founded missions in the south— La Paz, Santiago de los Coras, San José del Cabo, and Todos Santos. The Marqués was vitally interested, for he had founded these missions by making an endowment of ten thousand for each, just as he was founder of San José Comondú, Purísima Concepción, and Guadalupe. Thus he became the greatest contributor to the Pious Fund, having given almost half a million acres of land and some 200,000 dollars to the missions.[3] Among the reports evoked by the Visitor was that of Nicholás Tamaral (later killed in the uprising of the south) from Purísima Concepción. This is the most minute and detailed account we have of any mission in Lower California and even of the mainland.[4] At the time Father Luyando wrote his report for Visitor Echeverría (1730) eleven missions had been founded in the crooked peninsula, five north of the mother mission of Loreto and five south of it.

Including the title page the piece makes up eight folio pages in manuscript, plus three and a half lines. The title page, done in a different hand, is otherwise blank. This and the longer title which follows within we omit. Many words are found abbreviated as: q for que, pe for padre, genal for general. Missing accents have been supplied when called for. The punctuation, paragraphing, and sentence structure of Luyando follow loose rules or none at all. Sentences run on interminably with the tail of one attached to the next. Dropped words or phrases have been inserted in brackets in order to convey a clear meaning in English.

Besides the intimate picture of a particular Lower California mission which is portrayed, a few points may be indicated as classical not only to the California missions, but to the Jesuit mission system of New Spain in general: the clustering of groups of families in the mission pueblo; the organization of the village life with the appointment of Indian officials; the exact and consistent order of the day

[3] Some of the letters of Echeverría to the Marqués may be found in the *Biblioteca Nacional, California,* leg. 53. These have been abridged and edited by Fernando Ocaranza, *Crónicas y relaciones del Occidente de México,* 2 vols., México, 1937 and 1939, I, 77 ff. Echeverría's personal report is given in part by Miguel Venegas, Impressas Apostólicas, 604 ff. A copy of this rare manuscript is in the Bolton Collection, University of California.

[4] Tamaral's report may be found in Constantino Bayle, *Misión de la Baja California,* Madrid, 1946, 212 ff., and in *Doc. Hist. Mex., ser.* IV, *t.* 5.


Guaymas
112°
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
27°
26°
LORETO
Santa Rosa
S. Agueda
San Lucas
San Marcos
San Luis
MULEGÉ
La Punta
Jesús María
A-K-Y
Zacatecas
Trinidad
San José ?
Guadalupe
San Baltasar?
Santa Lucía
San Ignacio
113°
BAJA CALIFORNIA
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for meals, work, instruction, and prayer; the recurrent plague and the decrease in population; the indication of decreasing birth rate; the slim number of neophytes among whom the missionaries worked in that area; the establishment of roads connecting the Indian clusters to the mother mission; the procuring of food. This last was an exceedingly important factor, more so than elsewhere in New Spain, for the survival of the mission. It was almost a psychological necessity for the Indians' acceptance of Christianity.

Document: Luyando's Report

Report drawn up by me on the nineteenth of January, 1730, by order of Father Visitor General, Joseph de Echeverría, concerning the spiritual and temporal condition, the distribution [of its *rancherías*],[5] and the government of the mission of Santa Rosalía Mulegé.

The mission was founded near the sea at the mouth of the abundant stream called Mulegé. When in flood it carries a large amount of water, but it has been impossible for the three fathers who successively have cared for and administered the mission to make use of it at such times for the irrigation of their fields, though they have tried repeatedly. The difficulty is that the bed of the stream from its source is very low. Sand banks mark its course so that there appears to be less water than the stream really contains, as experience has shown in the many dams made for the purpose of irrigation.

In this place a house has been built containing three rooms and there is a newly built granary. To the right towards the east is the church which was finished last year. Although it is of adobe it is finished inside and out with mortar and whitewash. At the corner stands the sacristy of sufficient size for the proportions of the church, which is thirty-six by seven *varas*.[6] The church is appropriately decorated and contains ornaments of every moderate color. On feast days it is especially adorned.

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[5] A *ranchería* is a small cluster or string of huts or the group of families living in the huts near one another. Village or pueblo or settlement hardly gives the exact designation. A *ranchería* sometimes meant merely a half dozen families living along the banks of a stream or on a hillside. The Lower California Indian was extremely attached to the precise spot of earth upon which he had been dropped at birth. It was mostly impossible to get the native to come to live in the mission pueblo. Hence the wide scattering of the *rancherías*. Most natives never lived under a roof.

[6] A *vara* is 2.78 of a yard.

The people whom the mission cares for are few, even though at the beginning of its establishment it contained within its limits more than three thousand souls. The continual epidemics,[7] and the fact that other missions were founded which incorporated some groups formerly in charge of the father of this one, [have reduced its numbers.] It had been impossible to look after the whole population satisfactorily.[8] Today [the mission] comprises thirteen *rancherías,* though formerly there were more. With great difficulty were we able to achieve this reduction [of the natives] into the thirteen groups, which altogether comprise one hundred and thirteen families and three hundred and forty-six persons including the children and the old.[9]

The first is Santa Rosalía Mulegé, the head of the mission as it is called, and counts fourteen families which with the children make up the number of fifty-seven persons. The second is San Luis Kaeolopú with five families, each one of which wanders about on its own in different locations along the coast. They constitute thirteen persons including two children. The area lies seven leagues to the east of Mulegé and it marks the eastern boundary of the mission, being on the coast.[10] The third is La Punta which they

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[7] This is a common story. The gathering together of the neophytes into pueblos, when it could be done, facilitated the spread of diseases deadly to the Indian.

[8] The neighboring missions were La Purísima, southwest, begun by the Spanish Father Nicholás Tamaral in 1722; Guadalupe, west, established by the German Father Everard María Helen in 1720; and San Ignacio, northwest, founded by Luyando in 1728.

[9] The paucity of children shown not only for 1730 but throughout this record of Santa Rosalía was quite general in Lower California as well as in the mainland missions across the Gulf. Tribes appeared to be dying out. Take one case: Santiago in the south had 350 people in 1745, but only 198 in 1762. See reports of the Jesuit provincial, Escobar, in Gerardo Decorme, *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos,* Mexico, 1941, II, 530 ff., and of the visitor, Lizasoain, in W. B. Stevens Collectiton, University of Texas, Austin.

[10] There is no way of knowing precisely how many miles there were to the leagues mentioned here by Luyando. It is safe to assume that he is using "time" leagues, that is for example, an hour's walk being the equivalent of two leagues, although actually the ground distance covered would be no more than two miles. The area of San Luis Kaeolopú is at the most seven miles air-line from Mulegé yet Luyando calls the distance seven leagues, which would be at least fourteen miles. In the next instance, La Punta is between six and seven air-line miles, but Luyando calls it a canoe ride of two leagues. Using this same two league measure as a yardstick for the overland trail mentioned as going around the Bay of Conceptión it is impossible to see how the distance could be twenty-eight leagues. One or the other computation of his league is wrong according to actual land measurements, but both may be correct if time of travel is considered as the guage. Thus leagues over mountains and river barriers would be far shorter than leagues where the travel was fast. So too, the speed of the individual traveler would change the length of Luyando's league, for he mentions the people of Santa Rosa as thirty-seven league away from Mulegé, "more

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call Conception [Point]. It is on the bay and to visit it one goes in a canoe. By water it is two leagues away, but the overland trail is twenty-eight leagues, for it must go around the bay. Most of those who belong to this *ranchería* live today near the house of the father because this makes it easier to care for them.[11] Nevertheless, two families continue to reside there occasionally. The third is San Marcos.[12] It is eight leagues north of Mulegé and comprises five families which hardly make up thirteen people. The fourth is San Lucas Amunaā[13] six leagues beyond San Marcos and likewise on the coast. It has two families which number eight persons. It has not been easy to incorporate them into [the *ranchería*] of San Marcos, for experience has shown that if for some days they remain united, they soon make off to their own district which abounds in fish and food as does San Marcos.

There follows at ten leagues distance the *ranchería* of Santa Agueda (already in the mountains) because five leagues beyond San Lucas the trail leaves the coast so that the next five leagues is travel over the sierra.[14] The region of this ranchería produces an abundance of the mescal and other sustenance for the natives and there is good and sufficient water. For this reason, although the people of the *ranchería* are few, there are always found in the region many others who come from other *rancherías* which are within the boundary of other missions.[15] The families belonging properly to Santa Agueda, which is the fifth *ranchería,* are three and they comprise nine persons. The sixth *ranchería* is Santa Lucía which

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or less according to different estimates." Again, he has San Baltasar as "four, or, as others think, five" leagues from Guadalupe.

11 In this account of the location of the *rancherías* Luyando is moving counter-clockwise, although San Luis is really almost directly north of Mulegé and La Punta is east-south-east. Mulegé is now at a central point of the crescent of shoreline enclosing the Bahía de Santa Ines; the horns of this crescent end at San Luis (now Punto Sta. Ines) on the north and at La Punta de Concepción on the south. Between these two points the Bay of St. Ines meets the Gulf of California. The present Bahía de Concepción links up with the Bay of St. Ines south of Mulegé, but in Luyando's time both bays were one, named Concepción. The two points are lands so forbidding that it is small wonder that their inhabitants moved in on Mulegé for sustenance.

12 Third is here repeated, possibly because the padre nodded but more probably because he wished neither to count nor to neglect La Punta as a permanent *ranchería.*

13 Luyando often uses the broad accent (-) over a vowel when it is "a".

14 The Sierra de la Giganta. The peaks of this chain go to 6,000 feet. Santa Agueda was then in the mountains at about 2,000 feet altitude. There is still a road station of that name in apparently the same place, but there is also a town of Sta. Agueda on the coast directly east.

15 The missions referred to would be San Ignacio to the northwest and Guadalupe to the west of Mulegé.

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lies seven leagues beyond Santa Agueda over a miserable trail.[16] The group is large comprising twenty families with sixty-nine individuals. Part of the year these live with the above-mentioned natives of Santa Agueda, because in their district the water gives out, for there is only one small water hole in which some water is retained for a short while after it rains. The seventh *ranchería* is Santa Rosa Malhaāc, leagues from Santa Lucía. Although it is nearer to the mission of San Ignacio, it has been assigned to Mulegé, for it is on the coast and the trail from San Ignacio is very rough.[17] It is the end of the *partido* [of Mulegé] in the mountains of the north.[18] It is made up of seven families comprising eighteen people. It is difficult to care for them because of the great distances, for when the leagues are taken into account, these people are thirty-seven leagues away from the mother mission, [Mulegé], more or less according to different estimates.[19]

The eighth *ranchería* towards the west is that of San José Kawilimānc. Although it had been large, last year in my very hands it was destroyed by a rude epidemic which wasted it away. Today it has nine families which comprise twenty individuals. It is nineteen leagues from Mulegé and very close to Guadalupe.[20] But as with the last three mentioned it is cared for by the father of Mulegé, because the population is small while that of Guadalupe is quite large. The ninth *ranchería* is San Baltasar and it is fifteen leagues distant from Mulegé and from Guadalupe four, or, as others think, five. It has six families and sixteen persons. The tenth

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16 Santa Lucía is still a place name in the vicinity indicated by Luyando. From the mention of a miserable trail we may presume that it lay beyond the Sierra. The present Santa Lucía is about twelve miles from San Ignacio.

17 Santa Rosa Malhaāc was definitely on or very near the site of the present coastal town of Santa Rosalía.

18 *Partido* in the Jesuit system was a district comprising several mission pueblos or *rancherías*. The main mission pueblo where the padre resided was called the head or *cabecera*.

19 The road thus traced by Luyando is part of the present highway which runs up the eastern coast of Lower California from La Paz to Dolores, then west of the mountains and back to the coast at Loreto, then along the coast through Mulegé to San Lucas, beyond which it divides, one road going north to Santa Rosalía and the other branching west over the mountains to San Ignacio, thence continuing west and north to Aguas Calientes and San Diego. Omitting Santa Rosa, San Luis and La Punta, which were off the beaten path, we have thirty leagues added on the road to California, between fifty and sixty miles.

20 San José was about twenty-five miles northwest of Mulegé and San Baltasar, mentioned next, was about twenty miles west. The two formed a triangle with Guadalupe which was west of San Baltasar. The *ranchería* apparently was not on the site of the present village of San José. San Baltasar has disappeared from maps.

which is likewise in the mountains is eight leagues away from Santa Rosalía. It is called Santísima Trinidad or Yahagaeel.[21] It is made up of nine families and twenty-six individuals, to which number the nine families are reduced. The eleventh is Zacatecas containing ten families which make up twenty-three persons.[22] It is ten leagues distant from the ranchería La Trinidad. The twelfth is Ametsil-Kaamānc and Ysiluoin, which today make up one *ranchería.* These two number nine families and comprise thirty-five individuals.[23] It is nine leagues from Zacatecas. The thirteenth, Jesus-María, called La Kueba, stands to one side [sic] of the preceding *ranchería* and is about the same distance of nine leagues beyond Zacatecas and very close to the coast. It maintains nine families which count thirty persons. It is twenty-nine leagues from the *cabecera* and marks the end or limit of the partido of this mission.

In these thirteen, as I say, there are included a few left over from six *rancherías* which formerly existed at the foundation of the mission. Among these there was one, San Patricio, which was a pueblo *de visita,*[24] which today contains only two persons of the [former] pueblo. For this reason and because the house is fallen down we have not yet repaired it or returned there to put it back on its feet.

All of these *rancherías* have their cross[25] and in some there is an *enramada*[26] which is the most that one is able to expect from them. In each *ranchería* there is a *temastián*[27] who at dawn and sundown chants in their own language an *alabado*[28] and other prayers in

[21] This *ranchería* was on the site of present Trinidad, up the Río Mulegé, about ten miles south of Mulegé.

[22] There is at present a town named Zacatecas in the middle of the Peninsula, but its site does not coincide with the description given by Luyando. His Zacatecas was probably at the headwaters of the Río Mulegé twenty miles south of Mulegé.

[23] This and the following *ranchería* were probably very close to the head of the Bay of Concepción on the road south to Loreto. The twenty-nine leagues distance to the end of the Mulegé *partido* would be just about twenty-nine miles air-line, but probably fifty by road.

[24] A pueblo *de visita* was a larger settlement than an ordinary ranchería which the missionary visited regularly to say Mass and administer the sacraments. It usually had a chapel and a dwelling for the father. In Alta California the Franciscans called such an *asistencia.*

[25] A large wooden cross, usually set up on a platform or eminence, was the mark of every Christian group.

[26] A bower made of the branches of trees.

[27] This is the usual Jesuit missionary word for catechist.

[28] A series of divine praises. The first verse ran thus in Spanish: "Alabado y ensalzado sea el divino Sacramento en quien Dios oculto asiste de las almas en sustento." (Praised and extolled be the divine Sacrament in which God is secretly present for the sustenance of souls.) The second verse sings the praises of the Virgin Mary, and the third those of St. Joseph. The air is simple and may be found in Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *Missions and Missionaries of California,* Santa Barbara, California, 1929, I, 169.

which he is followed by all the rest. The chanting has been introduced because the tribe is very much attached to it and because it is easier than reciting prayers. Then too, they thus give over singing their lewd and insolent songs in which they were reared.[29] After this they all in unison recite the Christian doctrine in their own language, namely the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the [Christian] doctrine according to the method of Father Castaño translated into their own language.[30] They wind up with an act of contrition and with acts of faith, hope, and charity respectively. These same exercises they repeat at nightfall when they return from the bush or from their fishing, adding the rosary and the litany which [latter] they chant.[31] Their attraction towards singing enables them to commit the litany to memory. The catechist of each *rancheria* knows how to baptize in cases of necessity which occur from time to time; but he knows that if he does this on other occasions without necessity he will be severely punished.[32] Each *rancheria* has its captain and fiscal under whose obedience it is organized.[33] These give an account to the father of all that happens and when punishment is to be meted out they bring up to him those guilty of misdemeanor.

Each year [the people of the *rancherías*] are called in to the mother mission to make their confession. Here they remain for fifteen days to be instructed in the knowledge and the fruits of this sacrament, and if, as is usually the case, there are some who are old or ignorant and thus have need of more time, their stay is prolonged. When there is serious sickness the father is notified who immediately goes to administer the sacrament of confession and to anoint with the holy oils if there is necessity.

At the mother mission of Mulegé where the padre resides the order of the day is as follows: upon arising all go to the place assigned in order to recite the Ave Marías for which the bell is struck at dawn;[34] they sing the divine praises and benedictions and

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29 Chanting the *alabado*, the litanies, and other prayers was common to the neophytes of the whole mission system.

30 Father Bartolomé Castaño was missionary during the 1630's in Sonora among the Lower Pimas and Opatas. Like many another of his confrères he composed a compendium of the Christian doctrine.

31 This was the litany of the Virgin Mary commonly called the litany of Loretto.

32 A case of necessity would be that of a dying infant or a dying pagan adult.

33 The fiscal was responsible for attendance at prayer and for the proper ordering of divine service.

34 This refers evidently to the recitation of the Angelus and was a universal mission custom in the pueblo where the missionary resided.

then the bell rings for Mass at which all assist who are at the mission or the [father's] house. During Mass at the elevation of the host they sing two divine praises. The first [is sung] by the men, who are immediately followed by the women, in order that they be taught to praise the Sacrament and form a right judgment of the high mystery which is contained in the consecrated host, for truths enter [these people] better through the eyes, and by these external activities belief in the faith is deposited entering thus through the ears. After these divine praises they all sing the litany together. At communion time they interrupt the litany to sing the divine praises and when these are finished they begin again where they have left off [with the litany] and go on to the end of it. The father now finished Mass intones (although I intone it for them) [sic] the orison and other prayers.[35] When these are ended while the father removes the ornaments from the altar they sing three divine praises, the women intoning these from the middle of the church and comprising a chorus apart from the others, for on entering the edifice they have their assigned place. After all this the father explains a portion of the Christian doctrine for their better understanding and calls upon one or another to recite it from memory. This makes them more eager to learn in order that they avoid embarrassment and the correction of the father for not knowing it. During the time that the father makes his thanksgiving [after Mass] the catechist recites with them the whole [of the doctrine], concluding with the act of contrition, etc. Then they chant the *alabado* and go out for breakfast. On Sundays and feast days two sermons are preached, one in the language of the pueblo and the other in Castilian in order that the soldier may understand it and for the greater instruction of the more intelligent who as masters in their own language may afterwards speak of it among the others.

At breakfast those who assist at Mass and the house boys are seated each one according to his importance, as cowboy, muleteer, governor, etc. These get a good amount of tortillas and good *atole*.[36] as I hope they call it; the others of the pueblo get their *atole* watered down. When this is concluded as described each one goes off to his work. The wives of the houseboys go to their spinning and the older ones to their weaving. These turn out cloth, woolen stuffs, socks, and stockings. More of this kind of work could be done if

[35] Does Luyando mean by "la oración" the Lord's Prayer, "la Oración Dominical"?

[36] A sort of mush or gruel made out of corn flour.

the padre had sufficient food to dole out to each one who desired to be thus occupied.[37] In the middle of the morning the bell is rung to call the children to prayer at the designated place and then until noon each one according to his size carries wood to the kitchen. When the bell sounds the angelus at midday [the neophytes] say it in their own tongue, leave their work, and come in to dinner. This is given out to them at the door of the father's house and in the same measure and quality as at breakfast. While the food is being distributed they sing some divine praises to prevent confusion. After a brief period the bell rings and they recite the creed in their own tongue and they go off to work again until sundown. Then the bell rings and they recite the [Christian] doctrine, the rosary, and chant the litanies. When this is finished supper is doled out after which they go back to their *rancheria.*[38] Only three or four remain at the father's house to prepare and serve his supper. Then the *De Profundis*[39] is sounded and the *racheria,* etc. recites the Ave Marias.

While the rest are at their work the padre remains with two interpreters to instruct those who are to go to confession, for as I have said the rancherías each in turn come in periodically in order to confess. Otherwise they could not be given the proper attention nor food. [The father] does some writing, he presides at marriages, he gives audience, and he settles their continuous petty disputes. All those who have come in for confession attend with the youngsters the mid-morning instruction and that which is given early in the evening. Feeble old women who are unable to seek their food attend these exercises and are sustained by the padre and so at the sound of the bell they are ready for the distribution of food.

Thus far this crude description of the spiritual and political order. The material possessions of this mission are meager, but thanks be to God Who rules the universe, things necessary have not been wanting during all the years since the beginning of the foundation. To-

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[37] Here as elsewhere it was in part a "no work, no food" program. All the Indians of the mission pueblo could not be fed three times a day, so many had to spend their hours hunting or gathering berries and roots *al monte, i.e.,* in the bush. Rabbits, snakes, insects, and shell fish made a rough diet requiring hours of search. Indians who came from outlying *rancherías* for instruction were always fed.

[38] Theirs was near the mission church where the natives slept in their huts or in the open.

[39] Psalm 129 of the Douay version, 130 of the King James. An old Spanish custom was to toll the bell before retiring whereupon the faithful would pause to recite this Psalm for the souls in purgatory. At Santa Clara in California the old mission bells still toll each evening at eight-thirty for the De Profundis.

day the mission has three hundred head of cattle and nineteen bulls; of sheep and goats two hundred head; there are four groups of mares with foal, one of which is branded, and they make up forty-three head; colts at pasture of three and four years, eighteen; tame horses, twenty-five; riding mules and pack animals, twenty-two; colts of two years, six; colts and fillies of more than a year, twenty-six; burros male and female, forty.[40]—As for the furnishings of the church and house, gear for the herds, and tools, we have what is necessary, as can be seen itemized in the mission inventory.[41] For this reason I have not specified them in this report.

Your Reverence's least subject
and most devoted servant
IHS[42]
Juan Bautista de Luyando

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco

40 These numbers are placed in the right margin of the folio.
41 The inventory does not accompany the report.
42 IHS is a transliteration of the first three letters of the Greek spelling of Jesus. It is a common Jesuit symbol.

Book Reviews

UNRRA, The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Prepared by a Special Staff Under the Direction of George Woodbridge, Chief Historian of UNRRA in Three Volumes. Columbia University Press, New York, 1950. Pp. I, xxxv, 518; II, xii, 601; III, xiii, 520. $15.

Here is the story of the greatest attempt in the history of international achievement to draw all nations together by the bonds of practical sympathy to aid in assuaging the afflictions of the plain people of the world resulting from the ravages of war. Within these volumes are the records of the vast cooperative effort on the part of forty-four nations to restore the peoples of devastated countries "to a normal, healthy, and self-sustaining existence," and to prepare them for a life of international amity under the four freedoms. How selfishness' personal and national, has interfered with the high purpose on which the UNRRA was embarked is left to the future estimates of historians.

The first two volumes cover the period from the signing of the Agreement of the forty-four nations on November 9, 1943, to October 1, 1948, when Harry E. Howell was appointed Administrator for Liquidation of UNRRA. Volume III brings together all of the documents, hitherto printed or unprinted, relative to the purpose, the organization, the resolutions, the general and particular agreements, all basic statistics on financial and supply operations, orders and directives, and tables of statistics on personnel, repatriation, relief, rehabilitation, and contributions. Maps, graphs, charts, and a chronology are very helpful, and there are indexes at the end of the second and the third volumes.

There is practically nothing for your critical reviewer to pounce upon in this set of books. Certainly, the editorial work of the special staff headed by Dorothy K. Clark requires no criticism and deserves high praise, and the printing and binding are excellent. Dr. Woodbridge gives deserved credit to the painstaking historical staff that aided in the compilation, chiefly to Dr. Grace E. Fox and Dr. Clark (Mrs. William Gibbs), who were the historians of the UNRRA from 1946 until March, 1949. Under the guidance of the history staff some 600 monographs were prepared on each office and mission. These have been used throughout the volumes. The basic sources, however, are the mass of documentary materials "filed" during the five years of existence of the Administration. These in vast quantities had to be organized, calendared and filed before the volume could be written. Thus, when all have been culled, the present work will be backed by more than fifty million sheets of paper deposited with the United Nations. When we witness this vast amount of work on just the history of the UNRRA we can better comprehend the extent of that noble effort to get the stricken areas in some kind of working order so that all nations might work together toward a better world. Even under the distressing circumstances of the present and in the face of ingratitude for the rehabilitation efforts made

at such labor and cost and with a spirit of Christian charity, there will be few to admit that the effort so nobly undertaken was a failure, nor will there be any to refuse a large place on a library shelf to this very History of the UNRRA.

The work is a must for all libraries and it will be used by students for itself and as a guide to the materials for future studies. It may be in use sooner than expected as a plan for the next rehabilitation and relief programs. What, of the eight parts, will undoubtedly interest the people at large, after the first three hundred pages on the organization of the UNRRA and its operating structure, will be such chapters as those on Food, Medical Aid, Industrial Rehabilitation, and the Displaced Persons Program. How the Administration procured and distributed over nine million tons of food, valued at a billion and a quarter dollars, how the problem of relief merged into a problem of rehabilitation, how services were rendered for complete health, and what was done specifically in each of the various countries, are some of the many questions answered in a readable way. Anyone wishing statistics may have a field-day in these volumes.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago.

America's Second Crusade. By William Henry Chamberlain. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1950. Pp. x, 372. $3.75.

In the past three decades the United States was involved in two great wars with Germany. To the second of these a distinguished author here addresses a serious criticism of the strategy involved in entering that struggle. The work is first rate. It has a double objective: to highlight the naive readiness of ambitious leadership to stalk the dragon of world conquest, and to show how utterly impulsive was the choice of 1939–1941 whose impetuosity beclouded the true enemy, the power in the Kremlin.

A prologue sketches the 1917 decision to engage the forces of the Kaiser. Twenty years pass and once more we enter the lists with the Teutonic warriors. In this pair of "crusades" there is a wide difference between what the leaders sought and what they found. Unlike the historic Crusades, which built far better than they knew for Europe though they failed to hold their immediate goal, the Wilson-Roosevelt campaigns reversed this order. Wilson would make the world safe for democracy by destroying German power and creating a new Europe based on the self-determination of nations. Roosevelt, in the same tradition though in a far more climactic conflict, drove to crush the fierce threat of Nazism. In both cases our military strength, supported by the determined endurance and bitter sufferings of our comrades in arms, gained the immediate objective. Yet in both we lost the ultimate prize for which war is fought, peace. We might well have refused in 1917 to embark upon the drive against the Germans, nor did we have the mental and spiritual equipment to arrange a stable peace after the onslaught. In 1941 we not only brushed aside all chance of

agreement with Japan, but we chose Hitler instead of Stalin as the chief antagonist, and in that we committed the colossal blunder whose result is now with us.

These things have been said before, but never with such fine scholarship nor so convincing a conclusion. There can be little question of the patience and skill of Mr. Chamberlain in facing the immediate fact. Meticulous care in handling details, integrity of speech and thorough search for every pertinent piece of data, show his trustworthiness. His previous career as a chronicler of international relations needs no eulogy. His works on Communist Russia are standard. In the *New Leader,* the vigorous socialist enemy of Stalin, he writes with keen penetration and absolute fairness, above any anti-Catholic bias that sometimes mars that periodical.

The account of our entrance into war with Japan makes full use of the most authoritative documentation on that tragic event. After we broke their code—as we had done before in the first war—we came to know clearly what they were up to in November of 1941. Crusading for a "free China", with little realization of the global hazard in that emotional and cloudy choice of policy, we laid a virtual interdiction of the Empire of Hirohito. Their retaliation could not have been a surprise, nor was their strike at Pearl Harbor on December 7 of that year. Yet the knowledge was suppressed at top level, and this low game of high politics exposed the lives of American servicemen, the grand Pacific Fleet, and the bastian of Hawaii itself.

Similarly highlighted is the choice we made in Europe during 1939–1941. Our leadership knew of the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of August 23, 1939. They knew of and actually warned Russia of the impending German attack in June of 1941. They should have predicted the lethal stalemate likely to come out of that campaign. Stalin's aims for Europe and the world were no mystery to our experts in foreign affairs. Why did the executive neglect all this and decide to stand with Russia? Surely we could not enter upon and win the war without siding with Russia. Neither could the war be victoriously terminated without destroying every power center except Russia, whom we must then face alone with no compensating or assisting forces in a continuing state of battle such as the Lenin-Stalin strategy indicated.

Chamberlain is devastating as he pulls the curtain aside to describe a fundamental point in the relations between the executive and his Congress and public. He writes:

> Like the Roman god Janus, Roosevelt in the prewar period had two faces. For the American people, for the public record, there was the face of bland assurance that his first concern was to keep the country out of war. But in more intimate surroundings the Chief Executive often assumed that America was already in war.

In Professor Bailey he finds an apologist for this strange presidential conscience:

> Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor . . . He was like the physician

> who must tell the patient lies for the patient's own good . . . A president who cannot entrust the people with the truth betrays a certain lack of faith in the basic tenets of democracy. But because the masses are so notoriously shortsighted and generally cannot see danger until it is at their throats our statesmen are forced to deceive them into an awareness of their own long run interests. This is clearly what Roosevelt had to do,

And the professor adds in admiration: "and who shall say that posterity will not thank him for it?" To which a goodly portion of posterity, and Mr. Chamberlain in particular, has already replied: "Macchiavelli!" This sense of being "the Elect", the self-appointed arbiter of thought and life, betrays a tinge of the totalitarian dictator who does not belong in American life. How differently, the author writes, did Lincoln behave as he sat with head bowed at thought of the dying soldiers put in battle by his decision. He had nothing of the jocose, the flambuoyant, the jaunty superiority about him. And posterity thanks him.

Chamberlain concludes with ten points for foreign policy that must be studied to be appreciated, and to be followed. In a word, our day is no time for amateur filibusterers on the stage of world events. Emotions other than loyalty to country must be restrained, and serious work done on the problems, as he spells them out. The book is highly rewarding for any American who reads and thinks.

W. Eugene Shiels

Xavier University, Cincinnati

The Yankee Exodus. An Account of Migration from New England. By Stewart H. Holbrook. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950. Pp. xiv, 400. Illustrated.

Rarely has this reviewer seen a book with such potential for contrary reader reactions. Apparently aimed at the afternoon audience of daughters of New England, it has the capacity of stimulating great gratitude, even inspiration, for its meticulous listing of the deeds of "our forefathers" and the Yankee genius that they carried to the other three corners of our country. But to a historian it comes with something more than boredom. Here is a tome whose jacket calls it (with tongue somewhat in cheek) "awesomely plain." On the fifteenth page there stands a dictum uttered with the finality of a true son of Timothy Dwight: "The Yankee exodus to all parts of the American West, and occasionally into the South, is the most influential movement our country has known."

Turner once set down a quite respectable hypothesis on the West in American history. Of the significance of the frontier, Professor Paxson wrote that "no major historian has called it into question." Our author, however, declines even a courteous nod to the Turner idea, and with one

bold stroke demolishes the careful thinking of a first-class scholar. This is perhaps without intent or forethought, and indeed the work has its merit.

Some two thousand families and their various perigrinations form the basis of the essay. The plan is to carry them, group by group, into the unfolding West. Starting with an all too long and dreamy sketch of Vermont, Mr. Holbrook gathers up his founders of towns, religions, ethical—and non-ethical—movements, his inventors and schoolmasters and logging pioneers, and deposits them in practically every strategic locality in the country. There they build new factories, new colleges, new cults and new fortunes.

What of the New Englanders who stayed at home? The dismal picture omits the magnates of industry, commerce and railroading, and the new blood that went into the nineteenth century growth of venerable institutions or the formation of freshly changing cultures. That is not his concern.

In style the text alternates between the drab and the sprightly, sometimes flippant and flagrantly offensive. One only narrative stands out as truly "built" and that is the picturesque account of the Mormon sons of the northeast. Chapter after chaper drones on in a unity that is hardly more than geographical. A very perceptible lag marks the final fourth of the story, as nostalgia replaces progress in any direction.

The bibliography cites an enormous number of works on the matter of the book, and quite a few that could have made it a better piece of history if they were digested. Turner is there, of course, a final wink of recognition to one who once told this tale at Harvard. Perry Miller gets a similar bow. Diaries, journals, notes on the foundings and trials and treks of these interesting people, will certainly aid those who assay the real importance of the New Englander in the making of America. It still awaits its Homer.

W. Eugene Shiels

Xavier University, Cincinnati

Notes and Comments

In 1944 historians in the Latin American field received from the American Council on Education a blue-print for the model textbook. This, *Latin America, In School and College Teaching Materials,* was prepared from questionnaires, suggestions, and criticisms of existing texts and was designed to inform future textbook writers on what was wanted of them. For example, a textbook should not telescope 300 colonial years into an account of the Conquest, and then at once take up the movement for independence. It must preserve throughout the respect for others that is expected of every respectable book. It must lay its basis on the best research up to date. It may not speak of twenty-one nations south of us as one only people but place them in their concrete present existence as nationalities. It should speak of our dealings with them in the light both of fact and of proper regard for our government. Most of all it cannot make use of the Black Legend, about Spaniards in America.

Editors of scholarly publications seldom permit their Olympian calm the luxury of poring over textbooks. That genre tends often to wish to be a best seller, what though its impossibly pedantic speech hang pendant like an anchor to material that all in the profession know as quite commonplace. In texts the lifted look is found occasionally hiding an otherwise sharp-edged fact that, if told in its unadorned reality, might turn the callow student from prevailing local custom as to ideology, superstition of prejudice.

A text has just come to hand that seems to belie its brethren and approach the model set in 1944. It is *The Rise of the Latin American Nations: A Concise History,* by Arthur Scott Aiton. Doctor Aiton is just about as honored a teacher and scholar as the American universities can claim. In the classroom, in his own academic senate, on councils of national associations of historians and a valuable member of editorial boards, his name carries weight. And he knows how to use the English language, as an expert.

His book appears just now in lithoprint, and is a matter of about 150,000 words. It is done in the conventional scheme of dividing the subject, with the colonial era given space in the proportion of five to twelve for the national era. Despite its nature the book has that secret formula of authorship, true development. The colonial life develops, to maturity and independence. The various nations

then develop. An enormous weight of concrete illustration carries his various stories. For example, he pictures the type of Spanish colonist by drawing on the catalogue of licenses issued to colonists published by Rubio y Moreno in 1930, which shows them to have been "a truly representative group of the Spanish people." As a historian should do, he lets his facts talk. The Ley Lerdo was unpopular, and he says just that, whereupon he concludes honestly that the reaction to the law was popular. No *Leyenda Negra* is found here to mar the narrative, nor the church-baiting so widely indulged in high towers. False fact cannot "develop" a story.

He closes his treatment by a realistic study of Inter-American affairs. Appended is a bibliography suited to student need, and the short clause that the teacher "ordinarily, in each semester, should require a very thorough reading of at least six books." When this volume is freed of a few typographical blemishes, it should go into the hands of the young men and women who deserve the guidance of so gilt-edge a piece of text composition.

W. E. S.

* * * *

The Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas has made another worthwhile contribution by publishing an English translation of the *Report that Dr. Miguel Ramos de Arizpe . . . Presents to the August Congress . . .* The introduction, translation, annotations and index, a much needed addition to the previous Spanish printings of this famed *Report,* are the work of Nettie Lee Benson. The introduction is a sketch of Father Ramos Arizpe, the Mexican priest who was chiefly responsible for the Mexican Constitution of 1824, and the history of the printings and editions of his account of the four provinces of northeastern Mexico. The editor sticks very well to the report, not bothering much about the details of the life of the revolutionary priest before or after the account was written, but indicating the nature of his ideas of reform and revolution which got him locked up in Spain for six years.

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L'Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, Montreal, published *Louis Jolliet, vie et voyages (1645–1700)* by Jean Delanglez, translated from the original publication of the Institute of Jesuit History, Loyola University, Chicago. It was deemed advisable by the translators and editors, particularly Canon Lionel Groulx and Dr. Guy Frégault, to translate the *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet* liberally

rather than literally, and they have performed an excellent task without so much as attaching their names to the translation. They preferred to term the translation an adaptation into French. Before his death Father Delanglez added some materials and citations to the English edition which the editors have incorporated in the French.

* * * *

South Carolina Goes to War, 1860–1865, by Charles Edward Cauthen, is Volume 32 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, published by The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. It is a readable and very well documented account of the events in South Carolina from the secession movement in 1860 to the despair and defeat of 1865.

* * * *

Comment has been made in previous years on what we consider the most outstanding undergraduate student historical publication existing. This is the annual brochure produced since 1940 by the students of Marygrove College, Detroit. The 1950 publication is entitled *In the Service of Truth.* The general theme is Peace and the documents are in the main the papal pronouncements on peace since 1939. The articles reveal remarkable maturity and the fine bibliography will prove pleasing and useful to any scholar.

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Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867–1882, by Sister Lilliana Owens in Collaboration with Fr. Gregory Goñi, S.J., and Fr. J. M. González, S.J., is the first of a series of projected Jesuit Studies on the Southwest. It is published by the Revista Catolica Press of El Paso, Texas, and is generally illustrated. There is a Foreword by Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne of Santa Fe and an Introduction, "The Irresistible Challenge of the Pueblos," by Professor Carlos E. Castañeda of the University of Texas. Part I is the history of the Jesuit beginnings in New Mexico in sixty pages enriched by many documents. It tells chiefly of the work of Father Donato M. Gasparri, S.J., in the founding of the mission. Part II is the translation from the Spanish of Gasparri's letter giving an account of his appointment and journey to New Mexico from Spain in 1867. The has been translated is an earlier number of MID-AMERICA. Part III is the Diary of the Mission of New Mexico from May 27, 1867

to October 18, 1874. A bibliography and index carry the pages to 176.

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The South Dakota Historical Society is eligible for a round of applause for the valliant manner in which it is trying to keep alive the historical interests of the people of South Dakota with its monthly bulletin *The Wi-iyohi.* The pages are typed and planographed or mimeographed and hard to read, but they are always welcome for the historical interest of the articles and comments, and as a reminder of the unwillingness of a great State to budget a small sum for the typesetting and for the encouragement of the members of the Society.

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"WELL, HERE WE ARE! All decked out in our latest finery, and proud as a peacock." Words taken from *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for Autumn, 1950, heralding its new format. "The printers think they are now producing the most attractive historical magazine in the country . . . It's designed to please you. If it doesn't, we want to hear from you. If it does, let us know." Indeed, the directors of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the editors are to be congratulated upon this pleasing departure from the standard forms of scholarly quarterlies. The wider two-column pages are fewer in number but longer in word content; the gloss paper allows for fine photographic reproduction and colors; the costs are less and the popular appeal greater by reason of new features without sacrifice of the scholarly articles. In all, the change is bound to make history appear attractive and modern to more people.

* * * *

Mission Studies, a new quarterly, made its bow in September, 1950. It is published by The Mission Secretariat, Washington, D. C., under the joint sponsorship of the National Office of the society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Catholic mission aid and mission sending societies of the United States. The table of contents reveals articles on the conditions and problems of missions around the world; "The Church and Independent India," "The Church and the Earth's Cultures," "The Faith and the Peoples of Russia," "Language and the Peoples of Africa." Notes on current trends and book reviews fill out the 128 pages.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 33, NUMBER 2 APRIL 1951

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VOLUME 33 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 22 NUMBER 2

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Lawlessness in Cairo, Illinois 1848-1858

As the frontier line of settlement moved westward across the American continent in the nineteenth century one of the ever present problems was the establishment and maintenance of a reasonable degree of law and order. While most of the early settlers were honest and stable persons, the West also attracted the undesirable and the dissolute. Since little attention was paid to a person's past on the frontier, malefactors easily lost their identity and practiced their lawless arts before stable governments and courts could be established. The movement of large numbers of emigrants into a new area, gave thieves, gamblers and crooks of every description ample opportunity to prey upon the honest and unwary along the overland and river routes and border towns where the hand of the law was feeble. The early river settlements were especially notorious with their large numbers of transient rivermen from the numerous flatboats and steamboats which moved in endless procession along western waterways. The so-called "snapping turtle, half-man, half-alligator" type of boatmen who drank, fought and gouged among themselves and with the inhabitants of the river towns is well known to the student of western history.

That the early West should have had its full share of parasites "two jumps ahead of the sheriff" was inevitable under the circumstances in the border settlements. Large transient populations, often predominately male, including a goodly number of turbulent riff-raff, with saloons, dance halls, bawdy houses and gamb-

Note. The preparation of this paper was made possible in part by a research grant from Southern Illinois University.

ling dens wide open, without adequate police and court protection, or, at times, jails, gave ample opportunity for fighting, robbery, murder and crooked dealings of every possible description. There were always some of respectable backgrounds who now found crime easier than the hard manual labor necessary for existence. The philosophy of the stable and law-abiding citizen often served as an encouragement to evildoing. Many westerners accepted the responsibility of taking the law into their own hands or fought their own battles even where reasonable attempts had been made to establish acceptable courts and local government. They preferred at times to act as vigilance and regulatory groups in order that prompt and proper punishment be administered. Frontier juries were apt to be lenient with violators of the law, and jumping bail and breaking jail were common practices.

In the study and research of frontier lawlessness, too much attention has doubtless been placed on the lives and activities of such notorious characters as Wild Bill Hickock, Billy the Kid, Henry Plummer, the Harpes and Jesse James. Legendary accounts of these men abound while details of what actually took place in many of the western settlements have been neglected. In the opinion of the writer, the greatest need at present in the field of Western lawlessness is the preparation of a number of local studies dealing with the various towns and settlements based on newspaper and other local records. The purpose of this paper to present such a study of early lawlessness in the river town of Cairo, Illinois, and to trace the attempts to maintain law and order there in the ten year period from 1848 to 1858.

The development of steamboat navigation from its inception in 1819 on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers played a major role in the growth and expansion of the West and was important in the establishment of the river town of Cairo.[1] Located on the small neck of alluvial soil at the junction of the two rivers the town grew slowly in early years regardless of the optimism and high ambitions of some of its promoters. The City and The Bank of Cairo were created by the territorial legislature of Illinois for the purpose of developing the townsite and received the signature of Governor Edwards on January 9, 1816. Since few would buy lots the project

[1] Charles Henry Ambler, *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley*, Glendale, California, 1932, 129–130, tells how Captain Henry M. Shreve's round-trip between Louisville and New Orleans, March 12 to April 22, 1817, proved navigation practicable; three months later the townsite at Cairo was entered.

failed[2] and nothing further was done to promote the settlement until early in March, 1837, when the Cairo City and Canal Company was incorporated.[3] Attempting to lease its land rather than sell it the company failed in 1843. The next and last townsite company organized to promote the location of Cairo was The Cairo City Trust Company, incorporated on September 29, 1846. Somewhat tardy in getting their scheme into operation the trustees began selling lots in 1853.[4]

Many optimistic predictions in the early years of townsite promotion told how important and how great Cairo was to become. The faith that at the junction of these two important rivers would develop the "Greatest City of the West" and even the "Metropolis of the Nation," did not materialize, although it is remarkable how it persisted. The first issue of the Cairo *Delta,* on April 13, 1848, said: "No one . . . doubts these wonderful advantages possessed by Cairo, which designate it by far the greatest point in the West for a commercial and manufacturing emporium." On April 16, 1851, the editor of the first issue of the Cairo *Sun*, said: "There is no place in the world, at least off the seaboard, holding so prominent a geographical and commercial position." Settlers came in driblets. In 1826 Cairo was a mere stopping place with a tavern and a store.[5] By 1850 its population numbered only 242 inhabitants. During the next few years however, the town grew rather rapidly and in 1860 had a population of 2,188 persons.

Two factors tending to boom the town and to bring into the settlement large numbers of transients and some workers were the numerous steamboats that stopped there and the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad. On November 2, 1848, the *Delta* said: "Every boat stops at Cairo," and early in 1855, the failure of a steamer to stop brought word from the editor of the *Times* that it was "shrewdly suspected that she was afraid to land for fear of

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[2] Arthur Clinton Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois in 1776–1830*, Chicago, 1908, 114.

[3] Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois*, Chicago, 1949, 99. In the spirit of boom times the State Legislature granted numerous charters in 1836 and passed the General Improvement Bill, February 27, 1837, authorizing a grand scheme for internal improvements for Illinois.

[4] Robert R. Curtis, "Enterprises and Life in Early Cairo," M. A. Thesis, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1950, 15–18.

[5] William V. Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois from 1830–1850*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1908, 323. Towns and villages of southern Illinois at the time had from one to two hundred inhabitants. Shawneetown, the largest, had four houses in 1820 and sixty in 1826 with some three hundred inhabitants. In 1830 it was the chief town in southeast Illinois. Many emigrants going west by way of the Ohio landed there.

being tied up for an old bill."[6] Early in 1849 the *Delta* announced that 4566 steamboats had landed at Cairo in the previous twelve month period.[7] While this is probably an exaggeration, a careful analysis of the files of the local press covering a thirty-six week period shows average monthly landings of from 280 to 290. This same rate would bring the annual landings to approximately 3650. Records published by the Cairo City Property Trust Company in 1850 estimates the river traffic at Cairo at "no less then 288 arrivals and departures every month." Curtis who has made a careful study of average annual arrivals and departures of steamboats[8] during the late eighteen forties and throughout most of the eighteen fifties places the number each year somewhere between 3500 and 4000.[9] The transshipment of steamboat cargoes during low water was never as significant as some had thought it would be.

The Illinois Central Railroad was incorporated by the State of Illinois on February 10, 1851, and within a few months had organized itself in the State of New York. By mid-summer the railroad engineers visited Cairo and went north to start laying out the routes.[10] The road was completed to Cairo late in April, 1854, and travel to St. Louis began.[11] The first trains only ran to the upper depot, but in 1857 the practice was started of running trains to the lower depot a half hour before train time to pick up passengers, as there were those who would take the steamboat to St. Louis rather than walk a mile to the upper depot. The construction of the railroad brought laborers and certain business activities to Cairo, while later work on the levees did likewise.[12]

There is ample evidence to indicate that the period from 1848 to 1858 was turbulent one in the town of Cairo. The local press is filled with accounts of every type of crime and evil-doing known in the West. There was brawling and fighting, shooting, knifing and murder, gambling, counterfeiting, prostitution, incendiarism

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6 The Cairo City *Times*, February 28, 1855.

7 The Cairo *Delta*, January 4, 1849.

8 River steamboats arriving at Cairo usually docked alongside wharfboats, "large steamers with their engines, etc., taken out, but with cabins remaining." The wharfboat combined the functions of a warehouse, tavern, and hotel. The Cairo *Delta*, August 31, 1848. The editor of the Cairo *Sun*, April 1, 1852, described the new wharfboat of Mr. Henry Simmons.

9 Curtis, Enterprises and Life in Early Cairo, 35.

10 The Cairo *Sun*, April 10 and June 19, 1851.

11 The Cairo City *Times*, August 23 and 30, and November 22, 1854.

12 Paul Wallace Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work*, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, *passim*, has between one and two hundred men working on the levee at different times. See also the Cairo City *Times*, June 7, 1854, for description of the work, and Curtis, Enterprises and Life, 62–64.

and the picking of pockets. Drunkenness, closely connected with many of the types of lawlessness, was common and the amount of whisky, rum and brandy consumed must have been enormous. In 1856 when the population of Cairo was less than two thousand the town licensed twenty-eight "groceries"[13] and two billiard halls. The fee for a license to operate a "grocery" was placed at seventy-five dollars in 1855.[14] Heavy drinking was taken for granted by the local authorities, who objected however, to bootleggers and to the sale of liquor on Sunday even by a licensed place.

Lack of effective police, of courts, of lockups in the earlier years of the period added to the confusion and served to encourage crime among the transient river riff-raff constantly making temporary stops of varying lengths in this busy frontier settlement at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The editor of Cairo's first newspaper writing in November, 1848, under the heading, "The Stream of Life" emphasized the number of transients in town when he said in part:

> Thousands of strangers have been at Cairo during the past week. Few can imagine the amount of traveling on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers without stopping at this place. Every boat stops at Cairo. . . . From all lands they come—men seeking their fortune, and men seeking to spend that which they have already secured—the youth full of life and hope, just starting the race and tottering old age vainly attempting to travel and change the scene and clime to lengthen the short span yet left. A world is moving on before us like the silently flowing waters of the rivers which here mingle.[15]

Early in October, 1848, the *Delta* called attention to the need of a jail in the settlement, as the nearest one at that time was in the County seat at Thebes, some forty miles up the Mississippi. A good many "rogues" were reported to be in town and: "The peace of the place is almost nightly disturbed by the lower class of boatmen, more or less of whom are constantly making temporary stoppages with the pleasant idea that this town is peculiarly a land of liberty. There is no way at present of curing them of their mistake."[16] A few months later it was urged that the citizens of the town be on the "lookout when our place is infested with so many persons without any apparent means of livelihood."[17] In the spring

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[13] Curtis, 82. The sign "Groceries" in the fifties indicated a place where liquor was sold.
[14] Cairo *Weekly Delta*, September 26, 1855.
[15] Cairo *Delta*, November 2, 1848.
[16] *Ibid.*, October 12 and 19, 1848.
[17] *Ibid.*, January 3, 1849.

of 1855, the local press was pleased to report that a "sharp eye kept upon a delegation of thieves and pickpockets landed there by steamboats the past week made up of the off-scouring of St. Louis, New Orleans and other cities, had resulted in little damage being done to the citizens of Cairo."[18] Some weeks later concern was expressed by the editor that the bad reputation the town was getting might do harm to its future growth and prosperity. He said in part: "Indeed, if notoriety were all that the friends of Cairo desired for her, they would not ask for a more complete realization of their hopes."[19]

On April 23, 1856, the steamboat *America* arrived in Cairo from New Orleans bringing some eighteen hundred "bats of iron" for the Illinois Central Railroad under construction from the north. She was detained about twenty-four hours discharging it. The editor continues:

> She also brought about two hundred of the most despicable ruffians and cutthroats we ever saw. They hailed from Alabama and the sand hills of Georgia, and said they were going to Kansas to vote and return after the election. On Sunday night about fifty of them went out on the Mississippi levee, fell upon three men, shot at them several times, and beat them in the most cruel way.[20]

Under these circumstances there was bound to be much rowdyism resulting in large numbers of bloody fights as men were beaten, slashed with knives or shot. Early in January, 1854, a "free for all" fight was reported at the Delta House with one man badly hurt with an iron poker. A short time later a stranger was attacked by two ruffians for some trivial cause and cut with an axe so badly that his death "seemed inevitable." On August 2, 1854, a man was so badly beaten in a street fight that he went over inside the levee, "where he laid down and died." On September 6, it was announced that: "The fall fights have commenced, and this time we think in good earnest." A week later the weather man said to have been "decidedly too warm for pugilism" and the fights that day were only scrimmages in preparation for the cool weather. The editor ended his discourse in a poetic vein:

> Many a groan increased the din
> of battered nose and broken skin.[21]

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[18] Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, March 21, 1855.
[19] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1855.
[20] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1856. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill both North and South sent people into Kansas to vote under the squatter sovereignty arrangement.
[21] *Ibid.*, January 3, June 7, September 6 and 13, 1854.

On February 21, 1855, "there was a perfect diarrhea of fights" reported on the levee and on the wharfboat last week, and "we are gratified to state," wrote the editor, "that no citizen of Cairo was engaged in any of the musses." With the building of the railroad and the improvement of the Cairo levee, large groups of Irish laborers were employed and there appears to have been some prejudice against them although from available reports the Irishmen in most cases proved to be capable of taking care of themselves. The first press notice or racial feeling appears in September, 1855, when the editor of the *Weekly Times and Delta* observed:

> The so-called 'American Spirit' appears to have reached Cairo in small doses. A roving band of rowdies organized for the purpose of maltreating drunken and defenseless Irishmen has been active recently. The Irish have done nothing to provoke this exhibition of rowdyism and wanton cruelty. The prepetrators of the outrage should be punished.[22]

Although a police force was organized, a Court of Common Pleas established, and a jail constructed in 1856, brawling and fighting continued. On March 19, 1856, a peaceable citizen was so badly hurt in attempting to stop a fight in a saloon that "doubts were entertained of his recovery." On December 3 of the same year a general "plug muss" was reported in which knives, brickbats, clubs and bottles were freely used, one man being "literally cut to pieces."[23] In June, 1857, a fight was reported at the "Upper Depot" in which several participants were badly cut and bruised and on August 30 a man was assaulted on the levee, without provocation by two bullies and killed."[24]

Early in 1858, a man by the name of O'Brien was stabbed by an unknown person outside the St. Paul Hotel. He died from the wound but no arrests were made. On March 17, 1858, the editor of the *Times and Delta* announced: "The spring fights opened brilliantly on Saturday." Although several of the troublemakers were arrested and fined the punitive results could not have been very satisfactory, since early in June on the same year the editor sug-

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[22] *Ibid.*, September 13, 1856. Prejudice existed against the Irish because they were not native Americans and because they were of the Roman Catholic faith. There are several references in the press to Irishmen being beaten—and also of retaliations. While Negroes were apparently given the same consideration of Whites, the editor of the *Times and Delta*, July 16, 1857, reporting a serious fight among a group of Negroes, said: "How does it happen that so many colored blackguards are permitted to remain in Cairo? Where are these impudent niggers imported from, Cincinnati or Shawneetown? We suggest that the officers move them on."

[23] *Ibid.*, March 19 and December 3, 1856.

[24] *Ibid.*, August 30, 1857.

gested to the City Council that a chain gang ought to be created to take care of the violators of the law. He recommended speedy action, for the vagrant law then in operation in his opinion was a "dead letter."[25]

Robbery and thievery cases were reported every week, many of which resulted in fatalities as some of the victims were beaten and left to die in the back streets and on the levee. One of the first issues of the *Delta* in 1848 tells of the arrest of a Mr. Walters for robbing the house of a Mr. McGilfrey. Walters was examined by the justice of the peace, H. Shannessy, and not having the money for bail "was committed."[26] There were so many cases of petty thievery occurring that on September 6, 1849, the editor called attention to the large numbers of undesirables passing through the town and warned the citizens to be on the lookout when "Our place is infested with so many persons without any apparent means of livelihood."

On August 1, 1855, a saloon was broken into and on the following seventh of November a Negro was slugged and relieved of two hundred dollars. A week later an attempt was made to enter Tom Watson's Store.[27] On February 20, 1856, a man was "set upon" in Ten-Pin Alley by a gang of ruffians and was robbed after being "horribly cut and mutilated."[28] About the same time it was reported that a man walked up to Stearn's Market and "cooly shouldered a saddle of venison and marched off with the plunder." He was warned in the press that his identity was known and unless the stolen property was returned promptly he would receive "Cairo Justice."[29] On April 30, 1856, the office of the Adams Express Company was reported in the same paper as robbed and on August 6 the patience of the editor was about exhausted when he told that on Thursday night "some dirty scoundrel entered the residence of Father McCabe, next to the Catholic church, and ab-

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[25] *Ibid.*, January 27 and March 17, 1856.

[26] Cairo *Delta*, July 13, 1848. Since Cairo had no jail, its jailbirds were probably sheltered in the Thebes County Jail.

[27] Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, November 7 and 14, 1855.

[28] Cairo's underworld had apparently reached a stage attained in many another town and city over the world; it had a street all its own in Ten Pin Alley, mentioned in the press especially as "a festering nuisance to our city."

[29] Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, January 9, 1856. This was, of course, vigilante action, common in frontier towns, which citizens took the law into their own hands when crime became rampant: "Lynch Law" was different as regards authority and application, since it occured where suitable law enforcement agencies existed and was applied to the case of a single crime.

stracted therefrom the silver chalice, candle sticks and some other articles belonging to the altar."[30] He was shot at twice but succeeded in making his escape.

In the fall of 1856 a carpet bag containing all of the belongings of the journeyman printer employed by the local press was stolen. "A man must be hard up indeed, when he steals from a poor printer," observed the editor. On May 27, 1857, "an epidemic" of robberies were reported in town "the writer enumerating a long list of the worse cases. He closed his comments with these words: "Thievery and rascality are becoming rife among us." In December another long list of burglaries were reported among which was the robbery of the Jewelery Store of Antrim and Cohn from which thirty gold and silver watches were taken valued at about $1600. On April 14, 1858, conditions were still very bad in town, causing the crusading editor to write in his column:

> Swindling visitors gives Cairo a bad name, and should be put an end to vigorously and decisively. . . . Every steamboat that lands at our levee is immediately boarded by a pack of thieves of different grades and varieties, vagrants who have no visible means of support, and who never hesitate to pick up everything they can lay their hands on.

Cairo had its full share of murder cases, only a few of which can be mentioned. On January 16, 1856, a man by the name of William Lawrence was reported to have been "fouly murdered at the Coffee House" by a deckhand from aboard the steamboat *The Star of the West.* Lawrence's skull was broken by a heavy blow with a piece of iron. A large crowd gathered and threatened to pull down the Coffee House but was finally dispersed. No arrests had been made at the time the paper went to press. On December 17, 1857, the *Weekly Times and Delta* told how an unknown man was "brutally murdered" at an establishment operated by L. Goin several doors below the Taylor House. Goin had made his escape and had not been located.

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[30] If there were any spiritual ministrations to the settlers of Cairo prior to 1847, no records are available. A Rev. Elisha J. Durbin, Catholic priest of the Louisville Diocese attended fifteen stations in Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana in 1847; Shawneetown was one and Cairo may have been another; *Catholic Almanac 1847*, 126. In 1850 Cairo was visited by some priest or priests of St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri; *Catholic Almanac 1850*, 113, and *1851*, 149. In 1855 Rev. Patrick McCabe, who said mass once a month in the railroad depot at Shawneetown, occasionally visited Cairo; *Ibid., 1855*, 177, *1856*, 100, where it is stated that there is no church in Cairo, meaning there was none in 1855. In 1857 and 1858, and possibly before that time, Father McCabe was in Cairo, and the *Almanac* for 1858, 134, records him as pastor of St. Patrick's frame church with an assistant priest named Thomas Walsh.

The murder case that created the most excitement and received the widest attention in the local press was the Smith-Blackburn affair.[31] Doctors D. T. Smith and T. F. Blackburn had a serious argument early in March, 1857, at which time Smith had threatened to shoot Blackburn. Both men were arrested and fined by the justice of the peace at which time Blackburn used harsh language toward Smith. That night after dark as Blackburn was passing Smith's office, Smith stepped up behind him and without provacation, according to several witnesses, placed a pistol close to Blackburn's back and shot him in cold blood. While the wound was not considered fatal at first Blackburn died within a few days and Smith "left Cairo for parts unknown." A reward of five hundred dollars was offered for his capture and a group of Cairo citizens were soon reported to be in hot pursuit. He was arrested near Charleston, Illinois, on March 7 and brought back to stand trial. He was brought before the justice of the peace and was committed to jail about the middle of the month. On April 1 the editor called attention to the fact that Smith was still in custody of the cheriff and had not been placed in jail which he declared to be "an outrage." Three weeks later Smith was reported to have escaped and using the words of the editor, "beyond all probability effectually." The *Weekly Times and Delta* of May 6, 1857, carried a signed paid advertisement calling attention to the fact that Dr. Smith had subscribed rather heavily to a building fund to complete the local Methodist church in order that he might gain the support of its members in the forthcoming trial. Smith was at large several months but was arrested with a great deal of difficulty by C. D. Arter and James Lynch near Bolivar, Tennessee, and returned to Cairo.[32] He was promptly committed to the county jail at Thebes and tried in the next term of court. More than twenty witnesses were supenoed from Cairo and the town was very much interested in the trial. The jury was out only ten minutes and returned a verdict of not guilty. The Cairo Editor was highly incensed at what he called this "miscarriage of justice" but thought it wise to allow the matter to drop.[33]

While the local press says nothing regarding the operation of regular gambling establishments, they must have existed in Cairo.

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[31] Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, March 4, 11, 18, 23, and April 1 and 22, 1857. This case is of considerable significance as it indicates the lenient attitude toward criminal cases on the frontier and the difficulty in obtaining convictions by local juries.

[32] *Ibid.*, May 6 and October 21, 1857.

[33] *Ibid.*, May 26, June 2 and 9, 1857.

However, the editor and the citizens of the town took strong exception to the transient gamblers who frequented the taverns, saloons, and wharfboats ever on the watch to fleece the inexperienced and the unwary. The situation is well presented in the fall of 1855 when on November 7 the editor of the *Weekly Times and Delta* said:

> We regret to observe the influx of gamblers into Cairo. During the past week we have seen several whose faces we saw last season on the wharf boat. We are further informed that many of these gentry have been practicing in Cairo on the 'Green Ones.' If they are caught we hope that the regulators will treat them to a coat of tar and feathers, and that each citizen will do his best to put down all establishments were [sic] gambling is carried on.

On November 21, 1855, two gamblers who had swindled a Negro out of $240 the Sunday before were caught and "Cairo Justice" administered, after which they were chased across the Ohio River. This episode caused some of the undesirables to leave town. "Thus may they all do," commented the editor, "for people of that character are the very ones who have given Cairo a bad name in times past, and we want none of their company." On January 9, 1856, gamblers were again plentiful in town, and on April 30, an account was given of how a man by the name of Eldrington from Columbus, Ohio, was sharped for three hundred dollars in a poker game at the Taylor House, and the gamblers escaped. In August, 1857, a drunken youth from Kentucky bet six hundred dollars and his saddle bags on a little game of "Three Card Monte." He lost and wandered "wildly and woefully about the levee, bewailing his loss and seeking his goods. He departed a wiser if not a better man," said the editor on August 5.

Fire hazards were always rather heavy in most frontier settlements due to the inflammability of the buildings and the lack of adequate fire protection. There were, however, in the busy and crowded town of Cairo evidence of fires incendiary in nature. Fires were set at times to cause confusion and disorder so that thievery and robbery might be carried out while the fire was in progress. On May 2, 1855, several fires that appeared to be of such origin became front page news. Two stores were set on fire and burned involving losses amounting to about ten thousand dollars, only a part of which was covered by insurance. "These fires," wrote the editor, "were apparently set through the wickedness of the wretch who gained nothing by it, with the exception of what he could steal. A night police is very much needed to prevent any further

attempts to burn the town." In August, 1855, a man was caught attempting to set fire to a Mr. Harrell's house and he was severely handled and "run out of town." On June 2, 1858, there was record of an attempt to set fire to the new bank. A barrel of shavings was placed in a closet and set on fire, but was discovered before any serious damage could be done. "The object was plunder and confusion."

Carrying knives and firearms was common practice in the early West and the careless and reckless use of guns was a real problem in Cairo and there are numerous references to it in the press. The town was awakened on numerous occasions by the firing of guns on the levee and in the streets. The matter became so serious that on December 12, 1855, it was announced that the City Council had passed an ordinance to the effect "that any person who would explode powder after it had been poured into a gun, pistol, or other fire arms within the corporate limits of Cairo should be fined not less than three and not more than ten dollars." The next week attention was called to the ordinance and to the fact that it was not being enforced. "We presume," commented the editor, "that the offenders have not read the ordinance. We call attention to it." There are numerous references to violators appearing before the police court or the justice of the peace and paying for the violation of the firearms ordinance.[34]

Counterfeiting was very commonly practiced in frontier areas and Cairo was no exception. Early in 1849 a man by the name of Stratton from Kentucky was caught attempting to pass counterfeit half dollars on a recently arrived flatboatman. When arrested he was carrying counterfeit bills as well as coin. He was examined by Justice Shannessy and being unable to furnish bail set at two hundred fifty dollars was sent to the County Jail at Thebes. It was reported that he was probably receiving his money from St. Louis and seemed to be specializing in fifty cent pieces. The public was warned to be on the watch for such coins as they were smoother and lighter in weight than genuine ones. At about the same time several others were arrested in Cairo for counterfeiting, two men by the names of Dorras and Kelly being held for having counterfeit five dollar bills in their possession. Dorras was able to put up bail but Kelly was sent to jail at Thebes.[35] Notices appear in the

[34] *Ibid.*, December 12 and 19, 1855.

[35] Prior to the passage of the National Banking Act of 1863, lax state banking laws tended to encourage the counterfeiting of local bank notes. Stratton as well as Dorras and Kelly, later arrested in Cairo

local press from time to time requesting the public to be on the alert for "bad money."[36]

Cairo also had its pickpockets. On December 16, 1855, a man "calling himself a doctor" was caught in the act of picking a boy's pockets at National Hall and was severely flogged. On June 17, 1857, it was reported that the preceeding Sunday night a citizen of Cairo "who should have known better," was robbed of a fine gold watch by a pickpocket. "It was performed with such dexterity," observed the editor, "that although there were ten or fifteen persons standing around, not one of them saw the performance."[37]

While there was doubtless prostitution in Cairo during the period, no mention of houses is in the press. There were a good many transient women of loose morals passing through town, some of whom were put off steamboats. Numerous announcements appeared in the press of drunken fights in which women were involved and the major concern of the local police was to get them out of town as soon as possible. Early in May, 1855, "a Nymph de Pave, one of the gay habitues of Perdido Street" was picked up by a member of the day police for traipsing around in male attire. The magistrate let her off on condition that she leave town. The following December is was reported that "an incontinent, undignified and unchastened woman made the night hideous with her ravings the week before." She had been put off a steamboat and wandered up and down the levee, "cussing and abusing the Captain." In February, 1856, a man by the name of Wood attempted to rape a young girl and was severely whipped by the father. "The culprit," according to the editor, "received the longest and the most severe cowhiding he had ever witnessed." In January, 1858, Amanda Myers accused a man of rape and the justice of the peace after hearing the evidence found her guilty of adultery.[38]

There was some concern on the part of the stable citizens of Cairo regarding the proper observance of the Sabbath. There were serious objections expressed to places of business being open on Sunday, especially saloons. On March 28, 1855, the editor requested that the trustees of the town take adequate steps to pass an or-

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for the offence, were each carrying notes on the Bank of Louisville. Coins were passed more easily. Stratton and Kelly broke jail at Thebes in early June; Cairo *Delta*, June 7, 1849.

[36] Cairo *Delta*, February 1, 8, and 15, 1849; Cairo *Sun*, December 4 and 18, 1851.

[37] Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, June 17, 1857.

[38] Data for this paragraph were found in the *Weekly Times and Delta* of May 5 and December 19, 1855, February 13, 1856, and January 13, 1858.

dinance requiring a better observance of the Sabbath. He closed his remarks with a warning: "In our opinion, if the people of Cairo ever expect to arrive at any degree of prosperity, they must first deserve it by the strict observance of the laws of morality, and more especially, the observance of the Sabbath."

In April, 1855, there was another appeal for an ordinance, after the matter had been proposed in the board and voted down. "Let them grind out a Sunday Ordinance," commented the editor, "the keeping open of business houses on Sunday is an insult to the moral sentiments of every man who has any regard for the ordinances of a higher power than our board of trustees." An ordinance was eventually passed, and when a police force was established with a police court, the records indicate numerous arrests and fines for Sabbath violations.[39]

While about every possible type of crime found on the frontier is in evidence in Cairo, there are a few examples of crimes and offenses unique enough to be worthy of special mention. There are several instances of the "old panel game" being worked successfully.[40] On December 18, 1851, the *Sun* printed a warning to immigrants not to purchase duplicate public land receipts without checking with the government land office as to whether or not they were fraudulent. On April 2, 1856, the editor reported seeing a "sorrowful looking man walking up town with a large iron poker in his hand." He had been assaulted on a steamboat and was looking for a magistrate "taking the poker with him as evidence." Just prior to the February 6, 1856, edition, a fifty dollar diamond pin was to have been raffled off at a gathering in National Hall. While the pin was being circulated or inspection it disappeared and although the doors were locked and everybody searched the pin was not found.

In the spring of 1851 there occurred a crime in the Cairo area which was claimed by the editor, who had seen about everything, to have been "the richest piece of villainy ever executed in these diggings."[41] When two men in a wagon a couple of miles from

[39] *Ibid.*, April 18, 1855 and June 10, 1857. Four persons were fined for drunkenness the Sunday after the ordinance passed. One man left his carpetbag as part payment of his fine. On April 9, 1865, Police Robert Yost fined one James Ritchie the maximum twenty-five dollars for a Sunday spree and for going to church to make a noise.

[40] This crime, common in hotels and taverns in the West, called for movable panels placed in closets of various sleeping rooms, which gave access to the patron's pockets or clothing while he slept or entertained females of the establishment.

[41] See the Cairo *Sun*, May 1, 1851, for this account.

Jonesboro in Union County asked a farmer who the "heaviest" merchant was there, he mentioned the name of a Mr. Dishon. Driving their wagon to Dishon's store they requested permission to place a large box they had in their wagon in the store that night for safe keeping. After offering some objections to the suggestion, the merchant finally agreed, and the box was placed in the store room.

They put up for the night at the local tavern, appearing bright and early the next morning for their box. The proprietor was a bit worried as he had noticed a bolt of his best broadcloth missing from one of his counters that morning and upon examining his desk found that a considerable amount of money was also missing. He refused to allow the box to be taken from the store until it had been examined. When the owners offered strenuous objections he forced them into the store room at the point of a gun and locked them in. He found another man inside the box with the broadcloth and the missing money. The man inside turned states evidence and told the local authorities how they had been traveling through the country operating the trick quite successfully. He claimed that he had attempted to withdraw from the activity but had not been allowed to do so. The two men were jailed and later found guilty of fraud.

In the same edition of the Cairo *Sun* is found a new version of the more or less trite "half man, half alligator" harangue often reported in the rough river towns of the West. Late in April, 1851, Cairo was visited by a very singular person, who according to the local editor, "had a voice as loud as thunder and as terrifying as the roar of an angry lion." His conversation was recorded as follows:

> I am a hippopotamus, a man killer, or a wild man of the woods, just as the occasion requires. I was in all of the battles of the Mexican War, and after the war was over whipped every man in my company, and sent home to the wife of the company commander a one-eyed husband.

When a bystander remarked that he had more of the qualities of a polecat about him than any other animal, he loudly replied: "Look'e here, you goose-livered, pumpkin-headed Yankee. Just give me a spelling book and six white peas and I can make forty better Yankees than ever sold wooden nutmegs or stole cedar timber." The bystander, somewhat taken aback, slipped into the rapidly gathering crowd and disappeared.

This so-called "man of the woods" wandered into a telegraph office and was not inclined to believe the operator who informed

him that he could get a message to his sister in Dubuque, Iowa, in about three minutes. Turning to him, livid with rage and "thirsty for the blood of anyone" who would attempt to fool him he said: "Now I'll tell you square, I'm thirty-five years old—have seen steamboats, railroads and balloons—have been to Mexico—and have seen the elephant[42]—have traveled over thirteen states and whipped and sucked the blood of many a man, and if I don't maul you right here you'll be the first critter that ever rode over me, that's all." He pulled off his coat and was adjusting his suspenders around his waist in readiness for the fray, when the telegraph operator departed by way of the back door. When last seen this "man of the woods" was standing straight up in a little rickety canoe, desperately paddling down the Mississippi for the low ground of Tennessee.

Although there was much turbulence and violence in the river town of Cairo in the period under consideration, ample evidence reveals a stable and permanent citizenry gravely concerned about lawlessness. Citizens succeeded within a few years in building a much needed jail, in organizing a police force and in setting up a court of common pleas. Prior to that time they did not hesitate to take matters into their own hands as "regulators" or vigilance groups for the purpose of administering "Cairo Justice" with a considerable degree of success. The first objective upon which they worked was that of building themselves a jail.

In the first issues of the Cairo *Delta* in the spring of 1848, the editor, A. H. Sanders, shows considerable concern over the lack of a jail in town and the fact that the "not any too effective" county jail was some forty miles up the Mississippi River.[43] On October 19, 1848, after announcing that several prisoners had just escaped from the county jail at Thebes by digging under the wall, probably with some outside help, he briefly but effectively sums up the case thus:

> It is a notorious fact that notwithstanding the number of rascals committed for the perpetration of crime in this county, *not one*, within the remembrance of citizens of several years residence here, has been punished. The rogue knows that judging by the past, if arrested here for any crime he stands a very good chance of escaping on his way to jail, and a still better one of getting away after he is in jail. We have no jail here even for the confinement of individuals for a few hours, till they can appear

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[42] "Seeing the elephant," a common western phrase popular especially in mining camps, was a boast meaning "I have been around and have seen everything."

[43] Thebes, county seat of Alexander County, had at the time several stores, a good tavern, about 75 dwellings, a courthouse, jail and other county buildings, and about 350 inhabitants; Cairo *Sun*, May 15, 1851.

before a magistrate. . . . Delay and escape seem to save expenses. The rogue is more secure and is less liable to punishment than the respectable citizens. We want in Cairo a jail or calaboose of some kind.

The situation was so serious that early in February, 1849, a meeting was called at the Cairo Hotel for the purpose of devising some means of getting rid of certain undesirable characters and uniting in some general action to protect the persons and property of citizens. A large assembly attended and Mr. Corcoran was called to the chair, who appointed A. H. Sanders, O. S. Sayre and J. T. Smith as a committee to prepare a series of resolutions. They expressed "determination to take vigorous action against all rogues detected in their knavery and a desire to wipe out prejudices operating against Cairo." A committee was authorized to draft a petition to the state legislature asking that the citizens of Cairo be granted the privilege of erecting a jail. Since the legislature was about to adjourn there seemed little hope of action at this session. "But if no other object was affected," commented the editor, "it was in letting the rogues know that hereafter they may expect no quarter in Cairo."

No action had been taken regarding a jail by June, 14, 1854, when the editor of the *Times and Delta* asked: "Is there any law in Cairo? This question is frequently asked without elicting an answer. Oh! for a sheriff or a constable." On October 11 he argued: "The next improvement needed here is a jail, as straggling vagabonds from various points up and down the river are continually stopping here, who need the comfort of a wholesome diet in the shape of bread and water administered at the expense of the county." Agitation continued until on January 30, 1856, about which time the town trustees announced a bond issue, the sale of twenty-eight corporate bonds for twenty-five dollars each bearing interest at six percent per annum. The money was to be used in constructing a jail. The editor on February 6 was highly pleased with the action.

"We shall soon have a structure of sufficient strength and capacity to hold the Puducah editors, and all other wretches who visit Cairo upon piratical excursions. The funds for building the said lockup, are already subscribed, and the work will be commenced immediately. We wish the enterprise a hearty god speed."[44]

[44] The Cairo editors were no whit behind other town editors in the virtue of civic pride, defending Cairo as healthful, moral and respectable. As indicated below, the Paducah editors received scathing rebukes for their outspoken criticism of the violence and lawlessness of Cairo.

Of the two bids submitted by February 20, 1856, Mr. Aubrey's bid of eleven hundred fifty dollars for building the structure was chosen.[45] Aout three months later the jail, sixteen by twenty-four feet and two stories high, was complete except for the door. "We hope it will be ready soon," wrote the editor, "and that all the levee rats who lie around loose o'nights may be provided with comfortable lodgings therein—it's a shame that they should be allowed to lay out on the ground so promiscuously." From this time on little reference is made to it in the local press.

The establishment of a court of common pleas was the watchword throughout the early fifties, but no action was taken to secure one. Small was the hope for crime abatement "without an organized police force, the establishment of a court, and a necessary appendage, a jail." A week after authorizing the "appendage" the town trustees signified their willingness for a common pleas court and so petitioned the governor. Then arose concern over the selection of a judge and prosecuting attorney. Rumor named I. N. Haynie for judge and William K. Parrish for attorney, but the editor suggested John A. Logan as "desirable and acceptable" for the latter position. "He is a man in a thousand and we know that we speak the mind of a large number of our citizens when we ask John A. Logan to bring his clear intellect and strong mind among us. . . If we cannot get good men, let us bide our time." However, neither was chosen; H. Watson became prosecuting attorney, and Haynie the judge. The first session was scheduled for Monday, April 14, 1856.

The grand jury session adjourned on April 11, 1856, having found fifty-one indictments, thirty of which were for selling liquor without license and "Sunday Tippling." In this regard the editor said:

> The good effects of the sitting of the Grand Jury in the City of Cairo was visible last Sunday. Heretofore liquor establishments have been kept open and liquor has been sold on Sunday the same as if there had been no law against it. The proprietors of such establishments will be held to strict accountability for all such violations of the law. Hard drinkers will bear in mind that they cannot purchase spirits in town on Sunday, and will be compelled to lay in a stock on Saturday night to take them through.[46]

The Court of Common Pleas was scheduled to meet on July 7, 1856, with a docket of thirty-six civil cases and forty-nine criminal cases.

[45] The account of the progress of the building and all of its specifications can be followed in the *Weekly Times and Delta* for January 30, February 6, and 20, and May 14, 1856.

[46] *Ibid.*, April 9 and 16, 1856.

In the April session in 1857 there were 117 cases on the docket, 28 of which were criminal offenses. There can be no doubt but what the Court of Common Pleas functioned definitely as a deterrent to crime and lawlessness.[47]

A police force was slow in taking form in Cairo and the earlier justice of the peace and constable system was not able to cope successfully with crime and law violations. Prior to the creation of a police force and even afterwards the stable and responsible citizens of the settlement assumed the police role as vigilantes and regulators. "Cairo Justice" as they called it was administered on many occasions with a considerable degree of success.

The editor of the *Delta* in September, 1849, in reporting several cases of theft and robbery indicated that several of the culprits had been beaten and "run out of town." "When our place is infested with so many persons without any apparent means of livelihood," he observed, "it behooves our citizens to be on the lookout," When a delegation of thieves and pickpockets was landed in Cairo in the spring of 1855, "a sharp lookout was kept on them and their booty didn't amount to a row of pins."[48]

A Mr. B. S. Harrell ran a card of thanks in the local press in September, 1855, to his numerous friends "who so kindly shampooed, [head shaved] tarred and feathered and set adrift on a log, a loafer "who attempted to set fire to his house on the night of August 14. He offered his friends refreshments at his expense at the Carcade. The editor was of the opinion that the "scamp should have been lynched." A week later a thief who had taken certain goods was warned that his identity was known and if he did not return what he had stolen "he would dance at the end of a rope." Early in November, 1855, a scamp who in the words of the editor "had descended to such a depth of meanness as to steal a nigger's money," was taken to the river by a committee of citizens, and "soused in the Ohio," as much as he could bear and sent across to the Kentucky side "the Botany Bay for Cairo Rogues." "Whatever may be said about mob law," observed the editor, "we consider it perfectly justifiable in this case. The crime was fully proven on the man; he is known as a thief and scoundrel and he could not be convinced on a Negro's testimony." The episode ap-

[47] *Ibid.*, July 2 and 16, 1856; April 8, 1857; January 13 1858. The City of Cairo established a series of fines in March 1857, for gambling, drunkenness, fighting, gun firing, keeping a house of ill fame, vagabondage, selling impure foods, using false weights in selling, and cruelty to animals; *Ibid.*, March 25, 1857.

[48] *Ibid.*, September 6 and 15, 1849, and March 21, 1855.

parently had caused some suspicious characters to leave town. A few weeks later when a gambler was dragged in the water with a rope until he was "nearly dead" the editor justified the action by saying: "There is no jail in Cairo and no court and since all criminals sent to Thebes escape we are obliged to take the law in our own hands, and will do so when necessary."[49]

The numerous examples of the administration of "Cairo Justice" seem to have had the full approval of the community. Agitation for an organized police force continued and in the spring of 1855 when a number of fires occurred that were incendiary in origin causing some ten thousand dollars in losses not covered by insurance the editor pled for an organized police force: "A night police is very much needed to prevent further attempts to burn the town and we are glad to see that our citizens are taking a proper view of the matter. We hope at the next meeting of the trustees, they will take some steps toward carrying out the views of the people in this respect."[50] In August although nothing definitely had been done the citizens of the town were still working on police protection, but the editor could only plead and threaten. "Such an institution is very much needed and hereafter thieves and incendiaries had better keep their eyes open."[51] When no positive action had been taken by January 30, 1856, the editor used a more forceful argument in his summary of the situation:

> Frequent inquiries are made of us as to whether or not we have any police force in Cairo. We regret to say that we are always compelled to answer in the negative. Many persons who wish to locate here are afraid to do so, on account of the lawlessness of those, who from varied circumstances are compelled to stop here, or do so of their own accord. That there is a set of blackguards and thieves constantly lounging around Cairo, cannot be denied, but they constitute no portion of our population. There are many cases in which the people are compelled to take hold of an offender and deal out what is sometimes called 'Cairo Justice' or turn him loose to commit further depredations upon the community.

Conditions were so bad in Cairo in February 1856, that the citizens met at G. W. Readon's office on the levee, for the purpose of organizing a volunteer police force. C. D. Finch was called to the chair and Edward Willett was appointed secretary. Resolutions were passed, declaring that the disorderly condition of affairs in and around Cairo called for the active interference of the citizens, and it was recommended that they organize themselves into

[49] For the data in this paragraph see *Ibid.*, September 19 and 26, and November 7 and 21, 1855.
[50] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1855.
[51] *Ibid.*, August 22, 1855.

a patrol of forty-eight men, twenty-four to be on guard each night. The requisite number immediately volunteered, and R. H. Baird and H. M. Butts were chosen as captains of the two companies. The arrangement was to be temporary. In one week the plan was reported to be working "admirably thus far." "The town has been quiet as a mouse," wrote the editor after two weeks "and quiet as a claret-colored cat with a red ribbon around its neck, and no bells on its toes." On Monday February 24 a subscription of some two hundred dollars was collected from interested citizens for the purpose of employing five policemen for the town as long as the money lasted. Those who contributed were allowed to vote for the policemen that were to be assigned.[52]

In December, 1857, the City Council passed Ordinance 58 which officially created a town police force. There were to be six watchmen to patrol the city from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. The captain was to receive fifty dollars per month and the other five forty, with certain fees being allowed for arrests. The editor hoped that "the men would be delighted in the pursuit of their duties, and succeed in bringing to punishment those midnight marauders who have for some time past been entering the houses of our citizens with impunity."[53]

The police force, the court, the jail became the façade of the structure of justice and law in Cairo, a symbol of security to the citizens. However, the chief problem in the crime-control plan stemmed from the location of the city at the crossroads of a flourishing river traffic, where transients and temporary laborers paused for their moments of lawlessness. Thieves, robbers, gamblers and swindlers continued to come and go, while brawling and drunkenness continued to blight the lives of the people whose pride was their home town. The parasites and their activities were particularly obnoxious to the editor who may well have been disappointed with the results of new agencies of the law, whose establishment he had so long championed. This often-mentioned editor was A. H. Sanders, who took up his residence in Cairo in early 1848. He had outlined the plan of his crusade in the Cairo *Delta* in his opening editorial. He spent his years defending the town, as he had promised, against those who branded it as lawless, "dissipating the prejudices that existed against it." Moreover, he constantly promoted it as a clean, moral, and healthy place to live. Now, after ten years, affairs seemed to become worse. On February 17, 1858,

52 *Ibid.*, February 20 and 27, 1856.
53 *Ibid.*, December 9, 1857.

fights were occurring nightly, although, he indicated, the place was quiet in comparison to what it had been "owing to the wholesome laws which have been enacted by the city Fathers." When rowdyism continued he complained on March 3 that the night watchmen were not in the right place at the right time. A fortnight later he reported the spring fights to have "opened brilliantly," and hoped that they would soon be under control. They were actually worse when he suggested on April 7 the formation of a vigilante committee, and lawlessness was so rampant that in depair he proposed a "chain gang" as a last resort, on June 2:

> Our town for the past four or five months seems to have been the grand rendezvous for all the watchstaffers, pickpockets, thieves and vagabonds generally. . . . We want the Common Council to pass an act establishing a ball and chain gang; then go to work and arrest every one of those hang-dog loafers under the vagrant law, which at present is a dead letter, because all vags. arrested under it must be supported by the town. Put a ball and chain on their legs and set them to work—there is plenty of work for them to do such as digging ditches, patching the streets, and smashing rock on the levee. We think such a law should have the effect of cleaning the town of these pests and unless something is done and speedily, the citizens as a matter of self protection will be compelled to take the law into their own hands, and when they do, there will be a clean sweep.

While these events were taking place in Cairo, the settlement was at the same time growing into a thriving western river town. It was developing such stable cultural institutions as the church, public and private schools, the theatre, as well as dependable economic and social groups. These aspects of Cairo society and life must be considered if our account is to be properly balanced. However, it must also be kept in mind that the record of lawlessness and crime comes from local editors who in the main were inclined to "puff" their town rather than criticize it and were ever on the defensive as to its merits and advantages. It is probably fair to say that while all river towns were inclined to be rough and lawless during the thriving steamboat and flatboat days, Cairo because of its location at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers offered more opportunity for crime and disorder than did the average river settlement. The evidence available leads to the inevitable conclusion that during the decade from 1848 to 1858 Cairo, Illinois, was a turbulent and unruly place and lawlessness was a serious problem.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS

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"Visiting Statesman" in Louisiana 1876

In 1876 the Democrats looked forward to their first presidential triumph in twenty years. How could they fail when it was clear that the nation was tired of Republican misrule and Grantism? The public still remembered the malodorous attempt of Jim Fisk and Jay Gould to corner the gold market, an effort that the government almost failed to block, and which seemed to point to ineptitude or worse in the administration. Also, too recent to be forgotten entirely, were the flagrantly corrupt doings of many high ranking politicians in the Whiskey Ring and the Credit Mobilier affairs.

The Democratic candidate was the renowned, if colorless, Samuel J. Tilden, a reformer in New York politics, who had made a name for himself as an honest and able public servant. It was true that Tilden was opposed by Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio—himself honest and no spoilsman, but then he was not so well known and had to bear the burden of eight years of Grant's deeds of omission and commission.[1] And many former Republicans of prominence had used the Liberal Republicans' movement as a bridge, whereby they passed from the Republican party to the Democratic ranks.[2] For all practical purposes some of the Liberals, like Carl Schurz, were once more back in the Republican fold.[3] Still the Democratic gains had been considerable. With the South largely again under white control and with many areas of the North dissatisfied with their Republican rule, Democratic success seemed now at hand.

Bitter and hard fought was the campaign in 1876. The Democrats tried to focus attention upon the frauds and corruption under

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[1] Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897*, New York, 1898, 374–380; J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, Boston, 1937, 359, 361, 363; See also P. L. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election of 1876*, Cleveland, 1906, and Alexander Clarence Flick, *Samuel Jones Tilden: A Study in Political Sagacity*, New York, 1939.

[2] These new recruits to the Democratic ranks included many men who had been leaders in the Republican party such as John M. Palmer, Lyman Trumbull, and Gustave Koerner of Illinois, George W. Julian of Indiana, and A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania.

[3] Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809–1896: Life-Sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909, II, pp. 599–602.

Grant; whereas, the Republicans did not confine themselves to a defense of their record, but pointed with pride to their party as the one which had saved the Union. Particularly they appealed to Union veterans to "vote as they shot."[4]

Late in the evening of election day the Democrats appeared to have triumphed in many Northern states and apparently the entire South. However, the Republicans, after a period of confusion, inspired by the stand of the very influential New York *Times*,[5] gradually raised the cry that Hayes had been elected with 185 electoral votes to Tilden's 184. They claimed a majority, because they said Hayes had triumphed in the three doubtful states of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. On the basis of unofficial returns these states had seemed to be carried by the Democrats by small margins. They became crucial, since their 19 electoral votes if given to Hayes would make him the winner; if only one of them went to Tilden, it would mean a Democratic triumph. The situation was complicated by a dispute over one elector in Oregon. This Republican elector had been chosen by the people, but his opponents claimed he was ineligible, as he was a postmaster. Therefore, the Democratic governor considered his election invalid and appointed the next highest elector in the popular vote totals who was a Democrat.[6]

The Democrats, since Tilden had gained a popular plurality of 250,000 votes[7] over Hayes, were hopeful that a way would be found to inaugurate him. The country buzzed with confusion and partisan debate. Tilden, for his part, found time in the next few hectic weeks to hold conferences with his political lieutenants to consider the possible composition of his cabinet.[8]

The election of 1876 thus became entangled with the remnant of political reconstruction. Three Southern states were in dispute—Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. All were under carpetbag rule. The Republican machines in each state, opposed to the body of the Southern white population, had created an extremely confused situation. Though all three states were soon to overthrow these precarious Radical governments, they still lasted long enough

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[4] Flick, *Tilden*, 300–321; Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 861.

[5] New York *Times*, November 8, 1876–November 12, 1876.

[6] H. J. Eckenrode, *Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion*, New York, 1930, 178–185; Flick, *Tilden*, 334.

[7] Stanwood, *The History of the Presidency*, 383.

[8] Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement*, New York, 1919, 236; John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, New York, 1909–13, V, p. 299.

to certify the Hayes electors. The device used to disqualify enough popular votes to elect the Republican electors was the returning board. This piece of electoral machinery had been set up under the authority of state law, and had the function of reviewing election results and rejecting votes in districts in which its members believed intimidation or other unfair practices had been used.[9]

Within a few days after the election it was seen that the outcome hinged on these three Southern states, and that their returning boards would decide which set of electors had been chosen; therefore, Abram S. Hewitt, Democratic national chairman, asked various prominent Northern Democrats to go South and witness the count.[10] President Grant in his turn requested certain noted Republicans from the North to do the same.[11] These groups had no official status within the states and were a species of lobbyists.

Of the three Southern states the situation was probably most confused in Louisiana. The turmoil and disorder in that state dated from the election four years earlier in 1872. In that year an anti-Grant faction of the Republicans had joined forces with the regular Democrats to support a fusion candidate, John McEnery, for governor. The Radical Republicans backed a pro-Grant candidate, William P. Kellogg. At the election in that year McEnery seemed to have won by about 10,000 votes. The state returning board certified the election of the McEnery ticket, but the Kellogg faction having failed to gain control of the board, set up their own board which refused to be embarrassed by the fact that it did not possess a single return from any one of the state's polls, and went right ahead and fabricated a set of returns which it claimed to be the results of the election. By this means Kellogg, a majority of the Republican candidates for the legislature, and the Republican slate of presidential electors were declared elected. Naturally the Democrats refused to recognize this action. There ensued a period of deadlock. Congress refused to act; therefore, President Grant steppped into the picture and supported the Kellogg faction, refusing to consider any protest from the McEnery group.[12]

Now the events in Louisiana became even more confused. The Democrats and the dissident Republicans denied recognition to

[9] Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction,* 865; Flick, *Tilden,* 334, 337.

[10] Chicago *Times,* November 11, 1876.

[11] New York *Times,* November 13, 1876.

[12] Henry C. Warmoth, *War, Politics and Reconstruction,* New York, 1930, 206–219; Fanny Z. Lovell Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election of 1876," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XIV (1931), part 1, 408–440.

Kellogg, who was only put in power by the bayonets of Federal troops. If Grant had only refused to use the army, it seems likely that the Kellogg faction would have been overturned by the Democrats. Peace then might have been restored, since, as nearly as can be determined, McEnery was the popular choice, and the miserable uncertainty and confusion of 1876 might never have occurred.

There was a widespread defiance of the Kellogg government; disorder became so intense as to approach civil war in certain areas of the state. Blame for the chaos, of course, was fastened by one group upon the other. It was in this atmosphere that the election of 1876 was held, the election seeming to result in a Democratic victory in Louisiana. Instantly the Republicans raised the cry that white intimidation had been widespread.[13] The New Orleans *Republican,* the official newspaper of the party in that state, urged Republicans to stand firm and not concede defeat. William P. Kellogg sent a dispatch North in which he claimed a Republican victory because of Democratic intimidation in the five hotly contested parishes of West Feliciana, East Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, Moorehouse, and Ouachita.[14]

This was the situation in Louisiana, which the "visiting statesmen," as they came to be called, were to find upon their arrival. Among the Northern Democrats invited to New Orleans to watch the count in Louisiana were ex-senator Lyman Trumbull and ex-governor John M. Palmer of Illinois, A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, and Judge J. R. Stallo of Cincinnati.[15]

The Republicans were likewise an imposing group, headed by John Sherman of Ohio. He did not relish going down to Louisiana, put it off as long as he could,[16] and then went only reluctantly. Expressing his sentiment in a letter to his wife he remarked, "Grant in 8 years did not remember my existence until he had this most uncomfortable task to perform and then by his selection forced me to come."[17]

Upon their arrival the visiting Democrats at once announced that the Tilden electors and the local Democratic ticket had triumphed. They met in consultation, but could agree on no plan of

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[13] Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction,* 368–369.

[14] Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XV (1932), part 3, 107.

[15] New York *Times,* November 12, 1876.

[16] John Sherman to C. J. Wright, Mansfield, Ohio, November 12, 1876, Sherman MSS., Library of Congress.

[17] John Sherman to Cecilia Sherman, New Orleans, November 16, 1876, Sherman MSS.

action and ended by awaiting further reinforcements from the North.[18] Later, when their number was augmented by several latecomers, they met in conference with the Louisiana Democratic state committee.[19] A plan of action was formulated. John M. Palmer was elected chairman of the visiting Northern Democrats, and he called upon the four Republicans who composed the Louisiana state returning board. They did little to reassure him concerning either their honesty or their good intentions.[20] His fears of the partisan attitude of the returning board members were shared by the local Democrats.[21] The four board members were J. M. Wells and T. C. Anderson, white men of unsavory reputations, and L. M. Kenner and G. Casanave, colored men of no exalted moral standing.[22] There were no Democratic members on the board. In 1874 the last Democrat to sit in that body had resigned and no one had been appointed to take his place, in spite of the provisions of the state law which stipulated that the Democrats be represented on the board. Some of the board members attempted to explain this situation, claiming that by the resignation of the last Democrat that party had forfeited its right to representation. Despite protests from the Democrats[23] and even from the Northern Republicans, the vacancy was never filled.[24]

Next, the Northern Democrats sent an offer to the visiting Republicans to arrange a conference looking toward cooperation between the two groups.[25] This Democratic request was turned down by Sherman acting as chairman for the Republicans. He claimed that they were visiting Louisiana only as individuals and had no authority to act as a group.[26] Indignantly the Democrats replied that should the Louisiana returning board discharge its duty in a partisan manner, so as to create discontent, "we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that while you (the Republicans) have taken the responsibility of declining to act with us, we have done all in our power to avert the consequences which may follow."[27]

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[18] New York *Times*, November 14, 1876.
[19] New Orleans *Times*, November 14, 1876.
[20] John M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer: The Story of an Earnest Life*, Cincinnati, 1901, 397.
[21] New Orleans *Times*, November 12, 1876, November 13, 1876.
[22] Flick, *Tilden*, 337.
[23] Palmer, *Personal Recollections*, 397–399.
[24] Robert S. Smith to Sherman, Columbus, Ohio, November 27, 1876, Sherman MSS.
[25] New York *Times*, November 15, 1876.
[26] John Sherman to Cecelia Sherman, New Orleans, November 16, 1876, Sherman MSS.
[27] New York *Times*, November 18, 1876.

Perhaps with this exchange of views as a spur the returning board invited five members of the "visiting statesmen" of both parties to attend its sessions. The two groups of "visiting statesmen" met and agreed that ten of their number should stay and view the board's proceedings while the remainder were almost without exception glad to escape back to the North and their own private businesses, leaving the complicated tangle in Louisiana to be worked out by their representatives.[28]

Many Democrats had already despaired of obtaining justice from the board. For example, the New Orleans *Times* said that there was faint hope of getting a fair and impartial decision from "those whom the law has called upon to decide . . . , one is an undertaker, a second an uneducated colored man, and the two others have abilities which do not rise above those of an average politician. . . ."[29] But all of them did not feel this way. Lyman Trumbull, chosen as one of the five Democrats to observe the board's sessions, writing to his son, Walter, just before the returning board began to canvass the votes, remarked:

> I do not myself despair of a reasonably fair count in this state. We shall have it if we carry Florida, and, even if the presidency hangs on the result here, I do not see how without committing such palpable injustice and wrong as will take from the decision all weight before the country, the returning board, even if so disposed, can commit any great inequity in the presence of the committees.[30]

Other prominent Democrats on the five man committee were John M. Palmer and G. W. Julian. Besides John Sherman, among other Republicans invited to watch the board's proceedings was James A. Garfield.[31]

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[28] New Orleans *Times*, November 23, 1876, New York *Times*, November 21, 1876.

[29] *Ibid.*, November 14, 1876.

[30] Chicago *Times*, November 23, 1876.

[31] New York *Times*, November 21, 1876. In the July, 1949, issue (which appeared recently) of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, pages 631–717, there is an article by Marguerite T. Leach, a printing of a master's thesis written in 1933 at the Louisiana State University, which on page 637 gives a misleading list of "visiting statesmen." The article implies that the list of men which it gives actually watched the proceedings of the returning board. The list is based upon Fortier's, *History of Louisiana*, IV, 181, published in 1904. It contains the names of men such as William R. Morrison and Samuel J. Randall, Democrats, as well as a Republican, Lew Wallace, who never tarried long in Louisiana. Although there were some substitutions in the personnel of the five "visiting statesmen" for each party, particularly for the Republicans who actually witnessed the proceedings of the returning board, many of the men listed by Leach never sat in on a board session. See the New York *Times*, November 21, 1876, and the following two weeks for the shifting personnel at each session. The Republican report to President U. S.

It was agreed that none but members of the board were to examine returns, but that witnesses would be present when the packages of the votes were unsealed. Also it was decided that lawyers representing the two parties should be called in only when questions of contest arose, and that when the board went into an executive session all other persons but the members of the two committees were to be excluded from the room.[32]

First the board disposed of the parishes where there were no contests, while both sides prepared their arguments and testimony regarding the disputed districts.[33] This was a period of dullness when there was not much for the "visiting statesmen" to do. John Sherman in a letter stated that there was "little intercourse between men of opposite parties. I have not been called on by a single Democrat in this city except Gon. Gibson. . . ."[34] While this may have been true as regards the visiting Republicans and the local Democrats, apparently the two groups of "visiting statesmen" were not aloof. Henry Watterson, who was present for a time as one of the statesmen representing the Northern Democrats, said that "A certain degree of personal intimacy existed between the members of the two groups, and the 'entente' was quite as unrestrained as might have existed between rival athletic teams."[35]

When a Kentucky admirer sent Watterson some whiskey, he split it with his Republican rivals. Also he described what he termed as his "friendly" relations with both Sherman and Garfield, with whom he had had a long acquaintanceship. Watterson was also friendly with Stanley Matthews; another of the Republicans was related to him by marriage and had been practically an elder brother since his boyhood.[36] However, it is doubtful if such Republican apostates as Trumbull, Palmer, and Julian felt so close to the Republican group.

Grant made by the Republican statesmen was signed by nine men who stayed to the end or had attended some of the board sessions. They were John Sherman, E. W. Stoughton, J. H. Van Alen, Eugene Hale, J. A. Garfield, Cortland Parker, W. J. Kelly, Sidney Clark, and J. C. Wilson as printed in the New Orleans *Times*, December 7, 1876. The Democrats who signed the final report to Abram S. Hewett of the National Democratic Committee, and who had persevered at New Orleans were John M. Palmer, George B. Smith, William Bigler, George W. Julian, Lyman Trumbull, and P. H. Watson, as listed in the New Orleans *Times*, December 3, 1876.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] John Sherman to Cecilia Sherman, New Orleans, November 24, 1876, Sherman MSS.

[35] Henry Watterson, "The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency: Inside History of a Great Political Crisis," *Century*, LXXXVI (1913), 14.

[36] *Ibid.*

The "visiting statesman," many of whom had never before been to New Orleans, took the time now to visit all the places of interest.[37] Some of the visiting members of both parties attended what was then a famous and infamous feature of New Orleans social life, the Quadroon Ball. When this news leaked out, there were some red faces among the politicians and some hasty explanations.[38]

At this time there was an incident which provided a break to the monotonous tone of the sessions of the board. A reporter for a Democratic paper, who had attended several meetings of the board, had written an article which was sharply critical of the whole proceedings. Lyman Trumbull arose and apologized in behalf of the Democratic "visiting statesmen," saying that they would never have invited a newspaperman to attend the sessions of the board whom they had reason to believe would abuse the courtesies extended to him. [39]

Again the action picked up in the next sessions when three of the most hotly contested parishes' returns were opened. The parishes about whom the fierce controversy raged were East Feliciana, West Feliciana, and Ouachita.[40] At this point the Democratic visitors, led by Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, who had made a reputation as a legal expert and constitutional authority, questioned the returns and various procedural points of the sessions.[41]

The board worked very slowly, dragging out interminably every detail. Growing impatient, the "visiting statesmen," both Republicans and Democrats, asked that the action of the board be expedited as much as possible.[42] Only a week after the opening of the board's sessions, in spite of the extreme slowness with which it worked, Palmer and the other Democrats had seen enough to make them pessimistic as to the chances for the certification of the Democratic electors. Palmer wrote his wife that although "Tilden has about 8000 majority of the popular vote . . . the Hayes electors will get the certificate. . . ."[43]

Rutherford B. Hayes wrote an interesting letter to Sherman at

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[37] *Ibid.*

[38] New York *Times*, February 10, 1877; Milwaukee *News*, February 21, 1877.

[39] New Orleans *Times*, November 25, 1876.

[40] *Ibid.*, November 26, 1876.

[41] Chicago *Times*, November 28, 1876.

[42] John Sherman to Cecilia Sherman, New Orleans, November 25, 1876, Sherman MSS.

[43] John Palmer to Malinda Ann Palmer, New Orleans, November 27, 1876, Palmer MSS., Illinois State Historical Library.

about this time, in which he asked that Sherman not allow his "friends to defeat one outrage and fraud by another."[44] He added that he did not want the presidency unless he could gain it by measures that would "bear the severest scrutiny."[45] Hayes noted that among the visitors for the Democrats there were several recent converts from Republicanism (Palmer, Trumbull, and Julian), and stated that this was a mistake, since "converts are proverbially bitter towards those they have recently left."[46] These were fine words and sentiments, only it appears that Sherman and the Republicans on the spot were not guided by them.

Then a bombshell was thrown into the returning sessions of the board when it was considering instances of intimidation in Ouachita Parish. At that time Eliza Pinkston, a Negress, testified that white Democrats had killed her husband and child, and outraged and mutilated her person all because her husband persisted in the face of warnings and threats to belong to the Republican party. Two of the visiting Democrats, Lyman Trumbull and John M. Palmer, were much impressed with the woman's story which included all manner of lurid details. Both agreed that seldom had they heard anything to equal her tale for sheer horror and wanton cruelty, and urged that the perpetrators of these crimes must be apprehended and punished regardless of political consequences. The Louisiana Democrats were greatly upset by Eliza Pinkston's story, and its ready acceptance on the part of even the Democratic "visiting statesmen."[47] On cross examination the next day the Louisiana Democrats were able to shake Eliza Pinkson's testimony a great deal,[48] and later a congressional committee was able to disprove her story almost completely.[49] But in the meantime great harm had been done to the Democratic cause, as the skillful propagandists of the Republican party played up this incident as a classic instance of Southern intimidation of the Negroes and of the way that Hayes had been deprived of votes in this section.[50]

December 1, the board closed its hearing, and retired to a secret session to determine its decision. The Republican "visiting

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[44] Rutherford B. Hayes to Sherman, Columbus, Ohio, November 25, 1876, Sherman MSS.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] New York *Times*, November 29, 1876.
[48] *Ibid.*, November 30, 1876.
[49] Report of the Democratic majority of a select committee of the House of Representatives in *House Report* No. 156, 44 Congress, 2 Session, part 1, 1–20.
[50] New York *Times*, November 29, 1876, and November 30, 1876.

statesmen" then asked their Democratic counterparts for copies of their party's depositions and the testimony which they had gathered, in order that a complete report might be forwarded to the president. The Democrats refused to cooperate, on the grounds that there were no assurances that the report would ever be published.[51]

The same day the five Democratic "visiting statesmen" issued an address to the people, in which they quoted the figures turned in by the commissioners of election; these returns showed that the Tilden electors had won. The Democrats then went on to express their fears that the returning board would find a way to overturn the will of the people of Louisiana as expressed in the election.[52]

The Republican "visiting statesmen," convinced that all would go well, left soon after the board went into the executive session to make its decision,[53] but the Democratic visitors defiantly stayed on at New Orleans.[54] The Republicans radiated confidence. Zachariah Chandler, the Republican national chairman, wrote at this time, "I have no doubt that the honest vote of . . . Louisiana is for Hayes and anticipate that it will be so declared."[55]

Rumors were rife concerning the decision of the board. Many believed that the Democrats would be able to bribe or otherwise influence enough members of the board so as to enable the electoral vote for Louisiana to be cast for Tilden.[56] That the board members were open to such influence and quite disposed to listen to the side that would make them the best proposition seems on the face of the evidence incontestable. Henry Watterson recounts how a state senator approached him and offered to get the board to certify the Tilden electors if the Democrats would pay $100,000 to each of the white men on the board and $25,000 apiece to the colored men.[57] When Watterson failed to take the bait, Wells, the head of the returning board, sent an emissary to New York to contact Abram S. Hewitt, offering to certify the Tilden electors for $1,000,000. When this offer was not accepted, Wells cut the price to $200,000, but once more neither Hewitt nor Tilden manifested any interest. The only nibble that Wells got from the

51 *Ibid.*, December 2, 1876.
52 New Orleans *Times*, December 3, 1876.
53 Chicago *Times*, December 2, 1876.
54 Job E. Stevenson to Sherman, New Orleans, December 4, 1876, Sherman MSS.
55 Zachariah Chandler to James A. Grace, Washington, December 1, 1876, Chandler MSS., Library of Congress.
56 New York *Times*, December 2, 1876.
57 Watterson, "The Hayes-Tilden Contest for the Presidency," *Century*, LXXXVI (1913), p. 14.

Democrats was from Colonel W. T. Pelton, one of Tilden's staff, who engaged in secret unsuccessful negotiations without Tilden's knowledge.[58]

While the Democrats were refusing Wells's overtures, it is evident that he and his confederates were also busy in the other camp. The Sherman papers contain copious correspondence between D. A. Webber and James Anderson on the one hand and John Sherman on the other. Webber and Anderson wrote Sherman as follows:

> We have carefully considered the arguments advanced by you in our interview, your assurance that we should be taken care of is scarcely specified enough—In case we pursue the course suggested by you we would be obliged to leave the State—Will you please state in writing who we shall look to for the fullfillment of these promises.[59]

Sherman replied that very day:

> Your note of evening date—has just been received—Neither Mr. Hayes—myself, the Gentlemen who accompany me or the country at large, can ever forget the obligations under which you will have placed us if you should stand firm in the position you have taken—From a long and intimate acquaintance with Gov. Hayes—I am justified in assuming responsibility for promises made—and will *Guarantee* that you shall be provided for as soon after the 4th of March as may be practicable and in such a manner as to enable you both to leave Louisiana should you deem it necessary.[60]

Several years later testifying before a congressional investigating committee, Sherman was vague about having communicated with Anderson and Webber and having written such a letter, but did not positively deny that he had done so.[61]

Whether or not any money changed hands to obtain the returning board's certification of the Hayes electors has never been determined, but it is certain that three of the board members received very well-paying jobs after Hayes's inauguration. Wells became surveyor of the Port of New Orleans; Kenner obtained the deputy naval officership of the Port, and Anderson deputy collectorship in the same organization.[62] In July, 1877, the four board members

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[58] Eckenrode, *Hayes*, 190; Haworth, *Election of 1876*, 111, 112.

[59] D. [A. Webber] and J. [ames Anderson] to [John Sherman], November 20, 1876, copy in Sherman MSS.

[60] J [ohn Sherman] to D. [A. Webber] and J [ames Anderson], November 20, 1876, copy in Sherman MSS. For more information about this correspondence of the Louisiana politicians with Sherman see A. M. Gibson, *A Political Crime*, New York, 1885, 146.

[61] Gibson, *A Political Crime*, 145; Flick, *Tilden*, 340. See also the Potter Report, *House Report* No. 140, 45 Cong. 3 Sess.

[62] Flick, *Tilden*, 341 Haworth, *Election of 1876*, 112.

also reaped some other rewards for their conduct. After the Louisiana carpet-bag government had collapsed with the withdrawal of federal troops from the state, they were indicted for fraud and altering the returns. Their cases came up for trial and one of them, Anderson, was given a prison term for two years. However, the state supreme court on appeal reversed the decision, apparently on the grounds that the acts committed constituted no crimes known to state law.[63]

On December 5 the rumors of a possible decision favorable to Tilden definitely were scotched when the returning board announced its decision. It had thrown out enough Democratic votes so that the majority for the lowest Republican elector was 3435 and for the highest 4567. The Democratic electors refused to accept this board action as either legal or binding, but met and received a certificate from the Democratic candidate whom they claimed had been rightfully elected governor in 1872, John McEnery, and forwarded their votes to Washington. [64] The Republican electors, now that they had been certified as the bona fide group, hastily met and S. B. Packard, the local United States marshal and Republican candidate for governor, was able to triumphantly telegraph President Grant, "eight votes for Hayes & Wheeler have just been cast by the electors of Louisiana."[65]

In a letter to President Grant, the Republican "visiting statesman" described the proceedings of the canvass of the votes by the returning board and the great mass of evidence that had been collected in support of the certification of the Republican electors. They concluded their report by saying, "If political success shall be obtained by such violent and terrible means as were resorted to in many parishes of Louisiana, complaint should not be made if the votes thus obtained are denounced by judicial tribunals and all honest men as illegal and void."[66]

This Republican report, including a copy of the proceedings before the returning board, was published in pamphlet form by the "visiting statesmen" of that party. However, while this report was complete in every other respect, the portion of the testimony

[63] Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election," *Louisiana State Quarterly*, XV (1932) part 4, 263, 264.

[64] New York *Times*, December 11, 1876.

[65] S. B. Packard to U. S. Grant, New Orleans, December 6, 1876, Record Group 60, General Records of the Department of Justice, Chronological Files of Eastern Louisiana (in National Archives). See the article by Bone, part 4, *Louisiana State Quarterly, loc. cit.*, for a discussion of various irregularities involved in the casting of the Louisiana electoral vote.

[66] New Orleans *Times*, December 7, 1876.

before the board which included the cross examination of Eliza Pinkston was missing. This fact was called to John Sherman's attention by the gentleman who had written up the account of the proceedings before the returning board. He included with his letter a copy of the pamphlet marking the apppropriate places where the missing testimony would have been inserted.[67] Nevertheless, apparently nothing was done to remedy this "oversight."

Meanwhile, the Democratic "visiting statesmen" before leaving for home wrote a letter to Abram Hewitt in which they denounced the action of the board as "arbitrary, unfair, and without the warrant of law. . ."[68] Then they went on to show that the board was illegally constituted, and had acted in an unlawful manner, closing with the words, "Can we sanction such action . . . , and thereby form a precedent under the authority of which a party once in power may forever perpetuate its rule. . . ?"[69]

Trumbull, who was one of the most articulate of the Democratic "visiting statesmen," soon let the country know in greater detail how he felt about the events which he had just witnessed in Louisiana. Upon his return to Chicago, he wrote a letter to the editor of the New York *Post*, in which he challenged the statement the paper had made that the Louisiana returning board had acted in strict accordance with the state law. Trumbull claimed that the law which created the returning board through some omission did not provide for it the power to canvass returns for presidential electors. Also, he pointed out that in order for the votes to be thrown out by a board, a definite procedure provided by law should have been followed. This procedure had been disregarded by the board in its action. Therefore, Trumbull concluded, "after a careful examination of the Louisiana statutes it seems to me clear that the proceedings of the returning board were not according to the law of that state."[70]

The Republican feeling toward the Louisiana returning board's action was voiced by John Sherman who ever after maintained, "Whatever opinion may be expressed as to the correctness of the findings of the returning board, there can be no doubt that its proceedings were open, fair and impartial."[71]

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67 Albert Longlet to Sherman, Cincinnati, December 27, 1876, Sherman MSS.

68 Chicago *Times*, December 6, 1876.

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*, December 22, 1876.

71 John Sherman, *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet: an Autobiography*, New York, 1895, I, 556.

There was a great uproar at the action of the returning boards not only of that in Louisiana, but also those of Florida and South Carolina which likewise set aside Tilden majorities. The Democrats in all parts of the country were outraged that their candidate, who had been so clearly the popular choice, seemed to be deprived of his rightful place. There were many angry threats and even talk of a march on Washington.[72]

It is not within the scope of this article to recount the steps which led to the acceptance by both parties of the device of the Electoral Commission to settle the disputed election. How that Commission executed its duties and made its decisions in a strictly partisan manner also cannot be narrated here; nevertheless, the stage had been set for this ultimate outcome during the time that the two sets of lobbyists, representing both parties, had been in the South. Thus, the final stage of reconstruction became entangled with national politics, and led to a candidate, clearly not the popular choice, being inaugurated as President by means of highly irregular circumstances and procedures. The story of the "visiting statesmen" in Louisiana and the other Southern states is another shameful aspect of the post Civil War period, more fitting, perhaps, in a Balkan "free" election than in the United States.

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[72] McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, II, 616; Flick, *Tilden*, 358–364.

Venezuelan Education During Liberation

The torch of liberty can be permanently lighted only by the lamp of learning. Although there were some beacons of first magnitude, the light of knowledge burned but faintly in colonial Venezuela and faded almost completely during the wars of emancipation from 1811 to 1819. The old Captaincy-General of Venezuela possibly gave more in thought, in men, and in resources to the cause of liberation than any other revolutionary area and suffered correspondingly greater losses.[1] Its colonial population of possibly 800,000 was diminished during the war years by one-third owing to battle, plagues, famine, and the great quake of 1812 which alone took about 25,000 lives in the chief cities. Learning and public education became notable war casualties, and poverty stalked the land.

Venezuela might be called the retarded child of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. Its coastal area proved unhealthful and inhospitable. Its vast interior *llanos* were inviting to farmers and grazers, but were chiefly off the paths of commerce. Pearl fishing around Lake Maracaibo was a limited occupation, and mining wealth was missing. Population clusters grew slowly, in the mountain area of the west at Mérida, in the western coastal region at Maracaibo, in the central coastal hills at Caracas, and far east in the little port of Cumaná, first of the European settlements in South America. Construction of interior roads by Spain would have proved an unprofitable luxury as far as trade and travel were concerned. The whole of the undefined region was in 1809 peopled by less than 200,000 Spanish born and Creole Whites, 62,000 Negro slaves, and about 540,000 Indians, free Negroes, and mixed races. It may be safely said that the great majority of inhabitants were illiterate. The Creoles as a class knew little about geography, world history, economics, or mathematics, nor were they schooled in music, paint-

[1] J. Fred Rippy, "The Dictators of Venezuela," in A. Curtis Wilgus, *South American Dictators During the First Century of Independence*, Washington, D. C., 1937, 392–393; here will be found the population estimates used in this and the following paragraph.

ing, sculpture, or foreign languages but they cherished desires and ideals of education.[2]

Formal education in Venezuela followed slowly after the slow progress of settlement. A quarter of a century after the Jesuits had opened their Colegio de San Bartolomé in Bogotá, they moved beyond the mountains to Mérida where they opened a colegio in 1629.[3] An epidemic in 1651 stopped its growth for years since a number of the Jesuit instructors died of the fever. Three years after the whole northwest region was made the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada the Colegio de Santa Rosa began its 1721–1722 sessions at Caracas and was elevated to the rank of a Royal and Pontifical University in 1725. The Jesuits commenced their College of Maracaibo in 1730 and another in Caracas in 1753. Education suffered a serious blow in the Colombia-Venezuela area between the years 1753 and 1758 when fifty-seven Jesuits in the ten colleges under their control died of the plague. The student population was similarly reduced by one fourth. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spanish America in 1767 accelerated the decline in formal learning at Caracas, Maracaibo, and Mérida and gave rise to the tutorial system or to European training for a scattering of Creoles. At the end of the eighteenth century, Venezuelan culture radiated from Caracas. Maracaibo and Mérida, less able to compete with unfavorable realities, did not develop into seats of learning, but were rivals of Caracas in ambitions.

Eighteenth century Maracaibo had been noted for its progress in literature. The Jesuits there had maintained a high level of learning, "their scholars spoke Latin with uncommon elegance and facility, they understood perfectly rhetoric and the rules of poetry, wrote their own language with remarkable correctness, and in short, were adept in everything that constitutes and makes the scholar and gentleman."[4] Although their expulsion was a fatal blow to formal education in Maracaibo, which had become known as "the literary town of America," Dauxion-Lavaysse visiting it in 1807 noted its Creole class "preserve a decided taste for literature, . . . but what

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[2] Rafael María Baralt and Ramón Díaz, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela desde el descubriemiento de su territorio por los Castellanos en el siglo XV hasta el año* de 1797, Paris, 1841, 390.

[3] For a brief survey of the Jesuit colleges see Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Colonial Hispanic America," in *Greater America. Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton,* Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945, 119–121.

[4] Antonio de Alcedo and G. A. Thomson, trans., *The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies,* 5 volumes, London, 1812–1814, II, 449.

is the use of literature if not directed toward its proper object, that of promoting civilization and public liberty?"[5]

Although Cumaná at that time had no important school for public education, there was learning among its active Creoles. Dauxion-Lavaysse remarked that few Cumanese were educated in Europe but the wealthiest went to school in Caracas. The rest of the lettered Creoles studied Spanish, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, and the rudiments of Latin and music under private tutors. According to this visitor, Cumanese were less rich, less vain, more industrious, and shrewder than the youth of Caracas. Superior to Cumaná was Mérida. Its advance in formal education was second only to that of Caracas. The town boasted a college and a seminary where "the ministers of the catholic worship are founded, and where youth rescue those principles of education that are suitable to every station of life."[6]

Baron Alexander von Humboldt, who visited Caracas in 1804, found among its inhabitants of Spanish blood a real love of knowledge. They were acquainted with French and Italian literature, and showed marked musical ability but little interest in mathematics or painting and almost a complete absence of knowledge of the sciences. However, he did meet a Franciscan monk, Father Puerto, who proved to be an able astronomer and the compiler of a local almanac.[7] Nonetheless, Venezuelans generally were interested in politics and commerce rather than science, for Humboldt found no one interested in plant or mineral study.

As a whole, public education did not serve the coming educational needs of the Venezuelans. The role of educating in technial subjects those few fortunate enough to obtain learning fell often to the private academies. Father Pedro Sojo, the maternal uncle of Simón Bolívar, helped fill the musical requirements of his countrymen by establishing a musical academy in his own home in 1770.[8] From Rome, Sojo brought texts upon this art and also the first wind instruments in Caracas. By 1796, the first pianos had arrived in that city. Venezuela had begun to build her future fame in music, and the first opera came with the end of colonialism, in

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[5] Jean François Dauxion-Lavaysse, *A Statistical, Commercial, and Political Description of Venezuela, Trinidad, Margarita, and Tobago,* London 1820, 138, 139, and 104.

[6] François Ramond Joseph Depons, *A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma,* 3 volumes, London, 1806, III, 189.

[7] Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, during the years 1799 to 1804,* 4 volumes, London, 1889, I, 415.

[8] *Repertorio Americano,* I, October, 1826, 241.

1810.[9] In the home of the Ustáriz brothers, Luís and Francisco Javier, poetry held court. There, Andrés Bello, Vicente Tejera, and Juan Landaeta, in the fashion of the Parisian salons, read their first essays.[10] Meanwhile, Dr. Rafael de Escalona became the first teacher of modern physics in Caracas. In 1760, Colonel of Engineers Don Nicolás de Castro had opened in his home the first academy of mathematics. This institution lasted only until 1768.[11] Its closing delayed progress thirty years until Father Francisco de Andujar, a Capuchin, started a school of mathematics in his home in June, 1798. Andujar hoped to obtain financial aid from the Caracas cabildo in order to buy scientific instruments and to instruct poor children gratis. He failed in his plans, and his academy soon disappeared, but it was a sign of the times,[12] if not yet of public attitude. Simón Rodríguez, the eccentric tutor of the Liberator's early days was interested in public primary education, but his ideas on the subject were too "advanced" to be accepted by the Spanish regime.

The private academies and informal learned gatherings were characteristic of the effect of the Enlightenment. The upper class public also pursued knowledge individually. Even before 1800, the works of Raynal, Rousseau, Voltaire, Condillac, and John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* were read in their original tongues at Caracas,[13] despite their official disfavor. Humboldt explained that Creole youths employed dictionaries to translate both English and French and used every effort to master the two languages, especially the former.

Private libraries were the natural result of so much private reading. Leading scholars, as José Miguel Sanz, Juan Germán Roscio, Quintana and Escalona had fairly extensive collections. All the books were imported, for as yet not a printing press existing in Venezuela. One came in 1806 for a brief stay. When Francisco Miranda, the precursor of liberation, landed at Coro and attempted a popular uprising, he brought printed propaganda to help his

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[9] José Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela*, 2 volumes, Berlin, 1907, I, 88.

[10] *Ibid.*, 89.

[11] Ángel Grisanti, *La instrucción pública en Venezuela*, Barcelona, 1933, 66.

[12] Lino Duarte Level, *Cuadros de la historia militar y civil de Venezuela*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XX, Madrid, n.d., 214–217.

[13] Grisanti, 88. For excellent general accounts of the Enlightenment, see A. P. Whitaker, ed., *Latin America and the Enlightenment*, New York, 1942; John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, New York, 1940, and A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *Colonial Hispanic America*, Washington, 1936. The *Leyenda Negra* is explained and criticized.

cause. The press which produced it, he carried in flight to Trinidad. In 1808, Captain-General Juan de Casas permitted the establishment of the first Venezuelan press. The alleged reason for so radical a step was his intention to bring to the *caraqueños* a true picture of current events in Spain and thereby calm public excitement. To Trinidad, then, went Mateo Gallegher and Jaime Lamb. There they purchased, as the Venezuelan historian, Aristides Rojas, says, the same press that Miranda had employed for a vastly different purpose only two years previously! On this instrument the first newspaper in Venezuela was published, the *Gaceta de Caracas*, which first appeared on October 24, 1808. In its first article that day, it offered to aid politics and letters and to further public instruction. The paper solicited the assistance of all persons "instruídas en las Ciencias y Artes," and at the same time promised that it would not publish anything contrary to religion, the laws of the country, national customs, or damage the reputation of anyone. There was a more important promise, to publish as soon as possible "books of common use in the lecture halls of the University, of the schools, convents, or churches."[14]

Officially, all education centered around the University. In the colonial period there was only one university in Venezuela, that of Caracas. A royal cédula of Philip V dated December 22, 1721, and a papal bull of Innocent XIII of August 19, 1722, established the Royal and Pontifical University of Santa Rosa. The opening took place in 1725, at which time there were classes in theology, morning and afternoon, canon law, moral theology, philosophy, metaphysics, grammar, Scripture, and medicine. Franciscan and Dominican fathers were the first professors of Latin, ethics, and theology. The Tridentine Seminary had been founded in 1678. There, the chair of first letters had its origin. The University and the Seminary became a combined institution, thus providing all levels of learning.

M. Dauxion-Lavayssee recorded his detailed impression of the University in 1808, a picture which would soon change greatly.

> Three professors teach enough Latin to read mass, Aristotle's physics, and the philosophy of Scotus, which still prevailed at this school in 1808. A professor of medicine demonstrates anatomy, explains physiology, all the laws of animal life, the art of curing, &c, on a skeleton and some preparations in wax. If in this orthodox country a provision for instruct-

[14] José Félix Blanco, and Ramón Azpurúa, eds., *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia, Perú, y Bolivia. . . .*, 14 volumes, Caracas, 1875–1878, II, 177.

ing the profane arts and sciences has been neglected, it has not been so with the study of theology and canon law; . . . The University has also a professor who teaches the Roman law, the Castilian laws, the code of the Indies, and all other laws. In short, a professor of vocal church music forms part of this hierarchy of instruction, and teaches the students of law and medicine as those of theology, to sing in time and harmony, the airs of the Roman ritual.[15]

Depons was impressed by the stress on theology. There were two professors of philosophy, one of whom was a secular priest, and the other a Dominican. There was a professor of civil law, another of canon law. The colonial university had but one professor of physics. All degrees, however, were granted at this university—the bachelorate, the licentiate, the master and the doctorate. The degree of bachelor was conferred by the rector, but the two higher by the chancellor, who was always a canon. The university census of 1804 indicates the clerical emphasis of the university, a universal characteristic of higher education in colonial Latin America. In 1804, there were: in the lower classes, including rhetoric, 202 students, in philosophy 140, in theology thirty-six, in canon and civil law, fifty-five, in "physics" only eleven pupils, and "at the school for singing by note," twenty-two, thus producing a total of 466 students.[16] This limited curriculm prompted Robert Semple, an English visitor in Caracas, to write in 1812 that "the routine of education is such, as it may be supposed to have been in Spain two hundred years ago."[17]

A modern Venezuelan writer, Ángel Grisanti, would lift the blame from Spain for this trend, for the mother country herself lacked modern science and an aggressive scientific spirit. Her universities, fallen from their former prestige, were not as advanced as those of northern Europe.[18] Grisanti's compatriot and contemporary, Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, explains that Venezuela could not then have competed with the high intellectual culture of Peru and Mexico, for the funds, the population, and the necessity were largely lacking. He believes that Spain gave her colonies as much culture as she herself then possessed.[19] Generally, the curricula of colleges in the United States were quite narrow, too, at the time.

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15 Dauxion-Lavaysse, 51-52.

16 Depons, 386. At that time, the University of Caracas had a capital of 47,748 hard dollars, 6½ reales, providing 2387 hard dollars, 3½ reales annually at interest. From this fund, the twelve professors were paid.

17 Robert Semple, *Sketches of the Present State of Caracas*, London, 1812, 54.

18 Grisanti, 85.

19 Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *El regimen español en Venezuela*, Madrid, 1932, 126–127.

Despite the preponderance of things ecclesiastical in university instruction, fields other than this were developing in the last days of the Spanish regime. The College of Lawyers was one of Caracas' most notable institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were several outstanding lawyers on the faculty. Dr. José Antonio Osío, Francisco de Quintana, Juan Germán Roscio, and the great lawyer and later patriot, José Miguel Sanz, were among them. In 1803, the chair of law was confided to the eminent advocate Juan Germán Roscio. He was not obliged to teach anything but the four books of the Institutes of Justinian, and that for only one hour daily, but Roscio was a born reformer. He amplified the traditional lessons for the better teaching of Roman law. By dictating and explaining Castilian and Indies law and comparing canon and civil law, he "penetrated Natural Law with general notions of political law, the evolution of societies, the beginnings of economy, philosophy of law, and of the history of institutions."[20] The scientific method had been introduced in a field most appropriate to the hour. Roscio was to change soon from a leader of theory to one of practice in the political field.

Medical studies received important impetus in those last full days of the eighteenth century. In 1763, Don Lorenzo Campins was installed as professor of medicine in Caracas. At his request Charles III created the Royal Protomedicato of Caracas.[21] Campins served until 1784. His method was to "have the student write, recite from memory, and explain three paragraphs which he read from some note books without any author's title, with which work he concluded and completed the class hour."[22] His successor followed this routine until he realized that the students would become acquainted with only a few illnesses, and would acquire the fundamental principles of only a segment of medical knowledge. Then, too, they would lack instruction in the latest physiological discoveries. Therefore, Dr. Felipe Tamariz inaugurated his own system of instruction. He used the text of Dr. William Cullen, whose work contained all the maladies known in that day. Furthermore, its content was adaptable to the Venezuelan situation and climate. Thus every day his pupils learned a disease just as Cullen discussed it. They took up the fundamentals of anatomy and surgery so

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[20] Hector Garcia Chuecos, *Estudios de historia colonial venezolana*, 2 volumes, Caracas, 1941, I, 57–58.

[21] The Royal Protomedicato was a tribunal of royal physicians where medical students were examined and licensed.

[22] García Chuecos, *op, cit.*, I, 60–61.

that within three years each student was exposed to the problems of each illness three times and each unit of anatomy four times. By 1803, when Tamariz recorded his accomplishments, his students were well versed in applicable physiology. They knew not only of the human body in its normal state of health, but also of the symptoms, causes, and cures of many sicknesses common in Venezuela.[23]

Primary education showed little promise as a basic for universal education. Only the upper classes were educated, and they often not too well. The great Venezuelan lawyer, thinker, and patriot, Sanz, about 1804 was called on by the cabildo of Caracas to frame a general code of laws. He hoped thereby to reform public education, but this cause was to wait until another regime achieved it. At that time, Sanz described the elementary education of the Venezuelan Creoles, emphasizing its flaws of superficiality. Home training, too, bode no good for a people who he hoped soon would be self-governing. Parents inculcated pride, he complained: "There can be no sincerity, peace, attachment, nor confidence, in a country where everyone makes it the object of his particular study to be distinguished above others by his birth and vanity." Sanz also attacked the pedagogical method typified by Caracas, saying,

> Before a child is yet able to read what he is yet too young to understand, or scribble a little with his pen, they put into his hands the grammar of Nebrija without considering that, unable to speak his native language, to read, write, or calculate, it is ridiculous to put him to the Latin language, or to make him apply to the study of the sciences which are taught at the University. . . Is it not really pitiful to see a student . . . incapable of expressing himself with precision in his native language, of writing a letter, or even making the accents with tolerable correctness?[24]

Mediocre though the education was that Creole boys received, at least it was superior to the instruction given to girls. There was no special school for them in Caracas. They learned, therefore,

> . . . only what their parents taught them, which was limited to a number of prayers, to reading badly and spelling worse. None but a young man, inspired by love, could decipher their scrawls. They had neither dancing, drawing, nor even music masters. All that they learned was reduced to playing by rote a few tunes on the guitar and piano-forte.[25]

so wrote François Ramond Joseph Depons, another French visitor in 1804.

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[23] *Ibid.*, 61. William Cullen (1712–1790) was a Scottish physician, noted for his studies of the nervous system.

[24] Depons, I, 115–116. Nebrija's grammar originally appeared in 1492.

[25] *Ibid.*, I, 113–121.

Indians, slaves, laborers, and artisans generally lacked instruction. Only large Venezuelan towns had primary schools, and even in these populous centers one found no fixed rules or system of government inspection. After 1767, some Jesuit funds obtained by the confiscation of Jesuit properties were used for education, but only an insignificant portion of this sum was effectively employed. The Venezuelan historians, Rafael Baralt and Ramón Díaz, asserted that most of the colonial primary schools were supported by the towns or by beneficent foundations dedicated to learning and composed of private citizens.[26]

Even before the turn of the nineteenth century, signs of dissatisfaction with all branches and fields of education had been expressed. In 1788, in the Convent of la Purísima Concepción at Caracas, a literary contest was celebrated. In the propositions presented there it was declared that "The presidentes and visitadores ought to impose the reform of the doctrines and substances, long and uselessly discussed until now in all the study halls and classes of scholasticism," Father José Antonio Tinedo of the convent was the author of this plea for "the public utility of youth."[27] This revolutionary suggestion in a center of education was as a harbinger of educational progress.

José Miguel Sanz's vilification of the educational system was another symptom of internal disorder. He attacked the quality of the faculty. To cure all pedagogical ills, he suggested that,

> . . . the amount of all those expenditures would be appropriated to the use of schools, to the liberal support of good teachers, capable of inspiring youth betimes with religious and political maxims. From such a course of study might be expected wise magistrates, enlightened citizens, who, not abusing authority in order to flatter their passions, nor religion in order to conceal their ignorance, nor power nor riches in order to oppress the poor, would become the ornament of society, and the active promoters of public prosperity.

Continuing in this vein, he expressed his indignation that all Venezuelan property was subject to ecclesiastical and monastic rents while there was still no provision for the payment of teachers, "who publicly instruct the rising generation in the principles of religion which they profess and in the duties which are incumbent on them as men and as subjects."[28]

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26 Baralt and Díaz, 394.

27 Manuel Aguirre Elorriaga, "La instrucción en las postrimerias de la Caracas colonial," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, XXVII, 118.

28 Alexander Walker, *Colombia*, London, 1822, 410–411. Sanz's famous description of Venezuelan education is herein quoted from Depons.

Even the Captain-General of Venezuela, Don Pedro Carbonell, in a letter of information to the King dated May 9, 1795, mentioned the need of seven more chairs in the University of Caracas. Those proposed were in the fields of medicine, anatomy, surgery, Elemental and Natural History, and two of mathematics.[29] Humboldt came to Caracas shortly after this, as the university leaders, Escalona and Montenegro, were preparing the path for reform. The importation of foreign newspapers, the development of foreign commerce, and the visits and new ideas of foreigners like Depons, Dauxion-Lavaysse, and Humboldt himself were effecting a change. In January, 1800, Humboldt wrote to the *caraqueño* savant, Dr. Montenegro, that the University of Caracas needed a professor who could teach effectively what was useful and relative, and who was able to instruct youth in a subject close to the baron's heart, the value of mineral resources. Humboldt suggested that two professors be appointed, one for practical mathematics as applied in rural architecture and fortification, and another for chemistry and experimental physics. The latter mentor would apply his knowledge to agriculture. For this, instruments would be indispensable. Scales, barometers, thermometers, and hygrometers were required. For the optimum of usefulness in teaching, the Prussian geographer thought that the appointment of teachers ought to be left to capable persons who could best judge able instructors.[30]

It was only a few years later that François Depons wrote of the new attitude toward education. He remarked that national prejudices seemed to be breaking down. There was less contempt for foreign institutions. Venezuelan fathers no longer thought the study of geography a waste of time. They now even realized that history throws light on the future. Indeed, most educated people seemed to be looking toward the future, and Depons heralded it as he said,

> . . . a happy revolution of opinion is now on the eve of being accomplished, and everything announces that the succeeding generations will exhibit to the astonished world the spectacle of a moral amelioration, achieved by the increased energy of the national wisdom in consequence of the admission of whatever is useful to the principles of other nations.[31]

The "future" of Depons became the present of Liberation. The "happy revolution of opinion" became a political fact. Venezuela achieved de facto independence on April 19, 1810, and

[29] García Chuecos, I, 100.
[30] Rojas, I, 326–328.
[31] Depons, I, 121.

on July 5, 1811, its liberty was officially declared. From almost the beginning, all patriot efforts were expended on the military, for Venezuela had to fight for existence. Economic considerations were of necessity secondary. Cultural affairs could at best be tertiary. And yet, the Wars of Liberation were the culmination, too, of years of philosophical and social reflection on the part of Venezuelan Creoles. These patriots in their idealistic and spiritual battle were often led by great men of letters, the Doctors Montenegro, Marrero, Rafael Escalona, Francisco José Ribas, the Ustáriz brothers, and the "Lycurgus of Venezuela," José Miguel Sanz.[32] It was natural that these men and the state documents they were to author would express at least in part the new educational philosophy for a new regime. From 1810 to 1813 this idealism was well recorded. After 1813, the constant civil turmoil, the "War to the Death," and the destruction of armies and towns somewhat cooled the ardor of theorists and considerably checked practical reform. The battlefield became the only field of endeavor.

Juan Germán Roscio in 1811 wrote an essay on the "Rights of Man and the Citizen." "Ignorance," he said,

> is the greatest evil of a people; it is that which makes it credulous, superstitious, incapable of recognizing true essentials, and that which submits it to the cunning of oppressive governments. When a people has arrived at this point of stupidity, it is very easy for any passion to inspire it and to impose its yoke of slavery, by this despots and the ambitious apply a singular mind to perpetuate this want of knowledge, so much more said by the fanaticism that it foments and by the blindness it perpetuates.[33]

Roscio advocated public instruction for yet another reason, to provide well-trained officials for the state.

The Patriotic Society of Caracas, led by Francisco Miranda, in 1811 offered to "dissipate the ignorance of peoples, elevate the ideas of the citizens to the high dignity of a free man . . . ,[34] "and thereby fulfill Roscio's hopes. It was, however, not in the province of such an organization to do more than propagandize.

The declaration of independence in 1811 meant of necessity the calling of constituent assemblies of Venezuela and by her provinces so that fundamental laws could formulate the duties, rights, and goals of the newly free people. These constitutions give insight into the way political personages as well as men of letters were thinking about education. The constitution of the Province

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[32] Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, II, 26.
[33] *Ibid.*, III, 468.
[34] *Memorias de Urquinaona*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XI, 47.

of Trujillo was signed September 2, 1811. This interesting document specifically provided for free primary education. The municipal body was to name a primary teacher of sufficient training to teach children. He was to receive from the town government two hundred pesos annually. If this was not sufficient, the needed amount was to be made good by the regular revenue of the city. This teacher was to instruct gratuitously all the poor children of the vicinity and not to take from the well-to-do child more than four reales a month. Furthermore, the Reverend Father Guardian of the Convent of San Francisco was obliged to maintain within that institution a cleric to teach Latin to the youth of the province. He was to be appointed immediately, and the school was to be opened to the public for training in the classics.[35] The plea for better teaching and paid teachers was no longer the vain cry of Sanz alone. The system would be checked by the thing that created it, war.

Other constitutions were not so definite. Soon afterwards the Province of Caracas drew up its basic law, but the phrases therein relative to education were mostly so high-minded that they seemed nearly out of sight. Article 282 did express beautifully the theorizing of its creators.

> The culture of the spirit is the only certain means of distinguishing the true and sublime virtues that do honor to the human species, and of knowing in all their force the horrible vices that degrade them and are perpetuated with impunity among all savage and barbarous nations. It is also the most opportune organ for making known to the People their imprescriptable rights, and the means capable of conserving them in the possession of that orderly and just liberty which wise Nature has dispersed to all. It is equally the most prompt and sure road which there is to gain the increase of its physical conditions, directing with certainty its activity and its talents to the exercise of agriculture, commerce, the arts, and industry, which augment the quality of its pleasures and constitute them master of innumerable productions destined to their services by a High and Generous Beneficence. . .

This flowery dissertation upon the benefits of learning was finally summed up with a declaration of the duties of government toward education.

> A wise and enlightened government can not overlook procuring the culture of the reason and from that propagate and generalize it as much as possible among all its citizens. It will be therefore a duty of the legislatures and municipal governments, and of the magistrates of the state, to obtain the fomentation and propagation of literature and the sciences,

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35 Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, op cit., III, 366.

protecting particularly the establishment of seminaries for its teaching, and that of correct language and foreign tongues, and of private societies and public institutions which are directed to the same object, or to promote the betterment of agriculture, of the arts, crafts, manufactures, and commerce, without compromising the true liberty and tranquility of the people.[36]

The federal constitution of Venezuela was of the same spirit. Chapter IX entitled "Disposiciones Generales" called on the various provinces to,

Obtain the instruction of all the inhabitants of the state, to provide them schools, academies, and colleges where all who wish may learn the principles of religion, of sound morality, of science, and of the useful and necessary arts for the maintenance of prosperity of the people, to endeavor by all possible means to draw the said citizens to these houses of learning, to have them understand the intimate union by which they are bound, to all other citizens, to teach them that they deserve the same considerations from the government, and the rights which they enjoy by the simple act of their being men equal to all others of their kind, to the end that by this means, they may be raised from the abject and ignorant state in which they have been kept by the ancient state of affairs, and that they may no longer remain isolated and fearful of dealing with other men. . .[37]

An enlightened, free people in a free state, a better economy, a trained officialdom, and even a real democratic sympathy for every man, these were the apologies for a free, modern, broader, deeper, and universal education. But for the most part these, like most of the other rights and duties written in the first light of freedom in Venezuela were but theory. There were other effects of the era on Venezuelan education which, although often not as desirable, were not fanciful, but always expedient.

The most outstanding effect of the early years of independence on Venezuelan education was the establishment of the University of Mérida. Ángel Grisanti, a Venezuelan of our own day, lists this as the only important cultural event during the period under study, the so-called "Eclipse of Venezuelan Education."[38] Mérida had long been an intellectual rival of Caracas. The Royal College of Mérida had existed since 1787. It contained chairs of civil and canon law, theology, medicine, philosophy, and Latin.[39] Medical studies had been added in 1805. The seminary provided preparation for the College, the former offering "masters to teach read-

[36] *Ibid.*, III, 521.
[37] *Libro Nacional de los venezolanos, Actos del Congreso Constituyente de Venezuela en 1811*, Caracas, 1911, 413. See also Alcedo, V, 201 for an English translation.
[38] Grisanti, 117.
[39] García Chuecos, I, 73.

ing, writing, and arithmetic."[40] With all its facilities, the College still did not have the authority to confer doctoral degrees. Its alumni had to go to Bogotá or Caracas for the highest degrees. In 1801, the vice-rector of the College was sent as deputy to the University of Caracas to gain that body's approval of a petition proposed by the citizens of Mérida to ask Charles IV to raise the College to the rank of a university. The University of Caracas looked upon the request with disfavor. However, the petition was sent to His Majesty. There were many obstacles to its realization. The Governor of Maracaibo hoped that if any new university were created, it would be in his city, which had fallen under a comparative intellectual blight since the expulsion of the Jesuits. The smallness of Mérida's collegiate student body and of the area's income were handicaps of even greater weight. Then, too, the recent Gual-España revolt of 1797 which had been encouraged by ideas from France and the United States must have been in mind. Universities could be sources of dangerous innovation. Even Latin American universities were showing their restlessness.[41]

Charles IV refused to authorize a new university. His decision was so misquoted and misinterpreted that it was soon used by patriots to vilify the Crown as an eternal opponent of enlightenment and progress in the Americas. To his credit, Charles IV in 1806 authorized the conferring of higher degrees at Mérida. The degrees were of the same value as those conferred at Bogotá and Caracas. The practical goal had been achieved, but the honor of a title had been denied.[42] Nevertheless, the Méridan Junta in 1808 ordered celebrated with fireworks the royal establishment of the university! When 1810 brought virtual independence, the Venezuelan Patriotic Junta completed the Méridan dream. Interpreting the King's grant of a university's courses, titles, and privileges of conferring titles as the founding of a new university, the Creole-dominated junta established the University of Mérida! This junta went further, it established the faculties of anatomy, mathematics, ecclesiastical history, dogma, theological topics, and Holy Scripture.[43]

Mérida was so active due in part to her very liberal clergy. Many of them were ardent patriots. Juan José Mendoza was rector of

40 Depons, III, 189.
41 Grisanti, 112–118.
42 García Chuecos, I, 101.
43 Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *Historia de la primera república de Venezuela*, Caracas, 1939, I, 311.

the College. In 1817, he became chaplain of the Liberating Army. Dr. Arias was named rector of the new university in 1810. In 1811, he was president of the provincial constituent assembly. With many another patriot, in 1812 he went to prison. Manuel Fajardo was named professor of medicine in 1810. He was a deputy to the Congress of 1811, and again he served in the same capacity at Angostura in 1819.

The growth of a new political and civil control over the University was demonstrated in November of 1811 when the University sustained Dr. José Reyner in his chair of Civil Law when the rector, Dr. Arias, had suspended him. Arias appealed to the provincial executive power. This body decided that ecclesiastical judges, chapters of the cathedral, and the bishops had no jurisdiction in the affairs of the University.[44]

The story of Mérida's university was cut short. The memorable earthquake of March 26, 1812, left the buildings in ruins. The city had had five convents, but only one remained. It was truly "an unvaried picture of ruin and desolation."[45] The royalist reaction of that same year ended the university for a time. Although later restored, even in 1823 it instructed only sixty students in Spanish, Latin, natural philosophy, and theology.[46]

The University of Caracas, older, greater, and more dignified, suffered almost as severely. The University was far more conservative than the College of Mérida.[47] Nevertheless, the University was to see real progress despite several reactionary outbursts.[48] The works of the eighteenth century philosophes now entered its cloisters. Locke's philosophy, the writings of Condillac, the physics of Bacon and Newton, more advanced mathematics, and "pneumatic chemistry" were introduced by 1812, "to the great displeasure of certain persons, whose luxury and corpulence were maintained by the ignorance of their countrymen."[49] In 1822, Colonel William Duane was to see a portrait of Newton in a place of honor, over a professor's chair.[50]

During this active period was begun the building of a library for the University of Caracas. It began as a very modest collection.

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44 García Chuecos, I, 226.
45 *Letters Written from Colombia,* anon., London, 1824, 8.
46 *Ibid.,* 8.
47 Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos,* II, 345.
48 *Ibid.,* III, 61–97.
49 Dauxion-Lavaysse, *op. cit.,* 52.
50 William Duane, *A Visit to Colombia in the Years 1822 and 1823,* Philadelphia, 1827, 78.

In the will of Francisco Miranda, dated London, August 1, 1805, the great patriot had requested that,

> . . . to the University of Caracas shall be sent in my name the classic Greek and Latin books of my library as a mark of appreciation and respect for the wise principles of literature and of Christian morals which nourished my childhood and with whose solid fundamentals I have happily overcome the grave dangers and difficulties of the present time.[51]

In 1810, a little library of the University and the Tridentine Seminary existed. Miranda's books may have been added to this. The patriot, Juan Germán Roscio, in 1811, hoped to establish a true public library as a symbol of Venezuelan independence and dignity. The baneful effects of war had their way, and no public library was organized until 1833.[52] As late as 1822 when Duane was there, the University's library was a sad spectacle; as he described it, there was "nothing modern in the library, but a map of the world, suspended so high, as to defy even the aid of spectacles; one of the ladies discovered it was turned upside down, and noticed it with the observation, that like everything it had undergone a revolution."[53] Duane mentioned that in the period of the Cádiz cortes,[54] about 1812, the presses of Valladolid and other Spanish towns published hundreds of important works in Spanish and English. He found a general interest in French literature among the educated Creoles similar to that discovered by Humboldt.[55] It was stimulated in the 1820's by a generous flow of foreign literature, but such importations were not received in the period under consideration.

As the University was part Medieval, part modern at this time, its faculty was also divided in allegiance. The rector of the Tridentine Seminary which was attached to the University, was Antonio R. Queipo. He had supported the Revolution until 1811, but in

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[51] Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, IV, 477–479. Bolívar, in his last will, dated December 10, 1830, left to the University of Caracas two books, Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Monte-Cuculi's *Military Art*.

[52] *Ibid.*, 477.

[53] Duane, 76–77. Duane comments unfavorably on the physical appearance of the University. He said that it looked like an eleventh or twelfth century structure and that, "The lower apartments are gloomy—and much more crowded than the buildings of Caracas generally. The usual broad staircases of two flights leads to the upper apartments, which are more spacious and airy."

[54] Aristides Rojas, *Estudios históricos, Orígines venezolanos*, 2 volumes, Caracas, 1891, I, 328.

[55] Duane, 78. Duane explains this by the fact that many Latin Americans and peninsular Spaniards had gone to England, France and the United States in exile, and, "being generally well educated and liberal men, and poor, have found sources of support in the preparation of works adapted to the circumstances of the New World."

that year he was deprived by Congress of the rectorate and was arrested for severely ejecting a scholar and for not informing the archbishop of his action. Now, he attacked the patriot government. In 1812, he declared that year's earthquake due to God's vengeance upon rebels.[56] Dr. Manuel Vicente Maya, professor of civil law and theology, was elected rector of the University in January, 1811. He was a deputy from La Grita to the Venezuelan constituent assembly. In that body, he gave education a voice and pled for the establishment of primary schools.[57] Felipe Fermín Paul was deacon of the College of Lawyers at the outbreak of the Revolution. He, too, was sent to the constituent assembly where he served as its president. In 1814, the general emigration before the royalist advance found him in flight to Saint Thomas. The rector of the University in 1814 was Dr. Gabriel José Lindo. He represented that institution when he spoke in favor of funds which the clergy "ought to contribute to the war's cost and the means which ought to be taken to provide for the armies." That same year, the University took part in a grand welcome for Bolívar.[58] That institution could change character with and by the changes of war.

The new government had been molded by the learned men of Venezuela, and in turn, it was to regulate education. The Venezuelan constitution of 1812 insured the preservation of the property and income of the University of Caracas and promised to promote and aid the advancement of that university "whose object and destinies are so interesting and useful to the welfare of the community."[59] The constitution provided that the Supreme Court would have the exclusive right to examine, approve, and facilitate the granting of titles to all lawyers of Venezuela. Their studies were required to be accredited. Lawyers who received diplomas in this way were empowered to practice law anywhere, although where there were law schools these exclusive privileges were annulled. The executive power of Venezuela could grant the right to practice law even to foreign lawyers in this same manner.[60]

The most harmful effect of the wars on university education there were law schools these exclusive privileges were annulled. tion. University students were generally enthusiastic supporters of independence. As present day Latin American students enter the

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56 Urquinaona, *Memorias*, 140.
57 Lino Duarte Level, *Cuadros de la historia militar y civil de Venezuela*, Biblioteca Ayacucho, XX, Madrid, n.d., 268.
58 Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, V, 152.
59 *Ibid.*, III, 521.
60 *Ibid.*, 521.

political scene, so did these scholars prove active in political demonstrations. On the first anniversary of the meeting of the Caracas junta, April 19, 1811, they burned portraits of Ferdinand VII and cried "¡Abajo el tirano, abajo los españoles!"[61] In July, when independence was declared, they repeated their shouts, screaming this time, "¡No mas tronos!"[62] Therefore, it seems that many students must have become soldiers voluntarily. There is evidence to show that numbers did, but others were inducted into the patriot army regardless of their wishes. On August 26, 1811, Dr. Maya made vocal the complaint against this imposition. His petition before the Venezuelan constituent assembly stated that the forcing of students into the army prejudiced their literary progress and was against the wishes of their parents. As rector, he pled for redress. A few days later, he complained that nothing had been done by the Secretary of War to exempt students from military service.[63] The problem grew much worse, not better.

The desperate military plight of the patriots after 1812 and the "War to the Death" in 1813 spelled total war. Every last resource was used for Venezuela's defense. One remaining supply of manpower was the University of Caracas. After this defeat at Barquisimeto, Bolívar ordered his aide, General José Félix Ribas, to take all the men of Caracas for his army, especially the students. Dr. José Antonio Pérez, vicar-general, pled with Ribas against this measure. Before this, Dr. Pérez argued, the students of the Tridentine Seminary had been spared. Pérez spoke of the usefulness of these young men to the state as well as to the church. Besides, there were only six persons in the faculty, none of them fit for military service. Their induction would surely mean the closing of the Seminary. Who would provide them with uniforms to replace their clerical gowns? Ribas was unmoved by these last vain pleas.[64] The students marched off to war. For the most part, they had never used arms before. Bolívar received almost 500 students from the University and Seminary during the long period of conflict. The Church and State long felt this loss of future leaders. At the Battle of Araure, some of the students formed a body of light cavalry known as the "Squadron of Scholars."[65] They marched

61 Lino Duarte Level, *op. cit.*, 260.
62 *Ibid.*, 268.
63 *Libro Nacional de los Venezolanos*, 191 and 220.
64 Juan Vicente González, *Biografia del General José Félix Ribas*, Biblioteca Ayachucho, XXIV, Madrid, n.d., 121.
65 Rafael Urdaneta, *Memorias del General Rafael Urdaneta*, Biblioteca Ayachucho, XII, Madrid, n.d., 32.

toward San Carlos, but encountered a Spanish army on the heights of Vigirima, near Puerto Cabello. They were defeated; many fell, but later the Spanish column abandoned its position and valuable munitions to retreat to Puerto Cabello.[66] In 1814, General Montillo's army in its march to Machillanda boasted a corps of students who "deported themselves . . . with patriotism and with vigor; they took from the enemy a cannon and returned to their college with the laurels of victory."[67]

These are the outlines of military maneuvers, but to Venezuelan education they meant a great loss. José Domingo Díaz, a royalist editor, summed up the blow to learning in 1816. He estimated that of the more than four hundred students in the University in 1810, there were now less than one hundred, and most of these were small children who were learning their letters. Most of the rest had died in November, 1813 at Vigirima. The law school had numbered seventy-nine students in 1809, but only twenty-four remained in 1816. Of the thirty-eight medical students, seven years had reduced the number to twelve. The Tridentine Seminary had had seventy-three youths; now there were just twenty.[68]

Higher education had received an enthusiastic stimulus by the initial bright burst of liberty, but the exigencies of war retarded it later, and military necessity was to hinder both primary and secondary instruction in the same way. It seemed at first that war could create one type of education at least. As early as 1790, Dr. Agustín de la Torre, rector of the University of Caracas, had conceived the plan for academy of mathematics, but action soon stalled due to those foes of all great enterprises, official channels, official jealousy, and lack of funds. It was 1805 before the King crowned the accumulated disappointments with royal disapproval.[69] With Miranda's attempt to liberate his native land the next year, the public forgot this controversy. When the Revolution began, it was soon seen that military engineering skill was badly needed. Sucre and a few others had taken mathematics lessons from a private instructor at Cumaná. This teacher was Juan Pires, a Spanish engineer. On September 7, 1810, the *Gaceta de Caracas* carried an appeal to the military governor of Caracas. It mentioned the scarcity of those trained in the exact sciences. Knowledge of mathematics

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[66] Mariano Torrente, *Historia de la revolución Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1829–1830, I, 420–421.

[67] Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, V, 42.

[68] González, *Biografía*, 294–295. The statement of José Domingo Díaz is quoted in full.

[69] Lino Duarte Level, 214–221.

and of the sciences would improve the quality of the army officialdom as well as prepare young men for many careers useful to the state. Therefore, the Supreme Junta planned to establish in Caracas a Military Academy of Mathematics. Entrance was to be free to all of good birth with preference shown to soldiers from twelve to thirty-two years old. Army men wishing to take advantage of this opportunity might ask the permission of their superior officers, and civilians were to present themselves to the sub-inspector of Engineers under whose direction the Academy was to be established. The scheme had no results.[70] In November, 1811, the constituent assembly considered the merits of such an institution. An aide of the Secretary of War presented the case. He said that the youths involved could attend the military mathematics college and thereby rise to a lieutenancy. His resolution was deferred, and not mentioned again.[71] The movement had had little support; although it favored the Creoles and their children, it did not gain much favor.

Venezuelan primary education was comparatively neglected during this second decade of the nineteenth century. It was to be the most stressed level of learning throughout the next decade. Dr. Fermín Paul in the 1811 constituent assembly succeeded in having Santa Ana raised to the dignity and privileges of a *villa,* and had created there a primary school.[72] The same assembly requested the Dominican fathers of the island of Margarita to see to the foundation of public schools as desired by the junta of that settlement. For its support, the assembly provided that the income of the convent of Margarita should be provided.[73]

The Seminary of Maracaibo was established in 1816, but it was a hope more than an example of the troubled times. Primary education was hindered by the general absence of elementary texts. Here, too, warfare had made more acute a bad situation. As late as 1824, the British educational reformer, Joseph Lancaster, complained that he could find not one "elemental book of any kind. All that I have to prepare, I have to translate and put into use. . . "[74]

Musical learning had long seemed more fundamental to the Venezuelan spirit than even the rudiments of letters, but even music was hushed. The royalist Díaz lamented its decline. Only four

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70 Rojas, I, 331.
71 *Libro Nacional de los venezolanos,* 303.
72 *Ibid.,* 145.
73 *Ibid.,* 149.
74 Simón Bolívar O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary,* Caracas, 1881, XII, 245.

musical composers were left when he wrote in 1816.[75] General Boves had been greatly responsible for this. One writer called it "no trifling instance of the spirit which has characterized the war, that Boves, the Robespierre of Colombia, should have felt pleasure in sacrificing the professors and amateurs of this amiable art, which tyranny itself has frequently respected."[76] The same chronicler remarked ten years later that music still survived, but that "it may rather be said to scatter its sweetness widely on its native air, than to be a subject of scientific study or professional cultivation."[77]

After 1812, the Spanish royalists' part in Venezuelan events became larger. Like the effects of patriotic action upon education, the royalist role was both good and bad. The beneficial acts were mostly unapplied and inapplicable theory. Among the proposals of the deputies of America and Asia made to the Spanish national congress in December, 1810, the rectors of the American universities, and the deans of the law schools were to be made members of the consultative juntas to be set up in the capitals of each viceroyalty and captaincy-general.[78]

The liberal Spanish constitution of 1812 went further. It set up machinery and inspection for a primary school system. There was to be uniform teaching throughout Spain.[79] This trend was to be carried to the Indies. That year the Spanish Regency for Ferdinand VII called upon the Americans to cease rebellion. The Overseas Ministry was to have as its particularly important task public education, as education is "the basis of the happiness of man in society, and the government, recognizing its importance, believes it to be of primary attention to protect, augment, and reduce to a better system the primary schools in which are planted in youth the first seeds of the moral virtues. . . ."[80] The colleges, universities, academies, and other learned establishments would be encouraged by the ministry. Venezuelans, however, had placed themselves beyond the pale of Spanish influence.

At the end of 1813, the liberal Spanish Cortes took a seemingly radical step. Youths of African descent were to be admitted to higher educational institutions and ecclesiastical careers in the Americas. They could enter the universities, seminaries, and join

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75 González, 294.
76 Francis Hall, *Colombia*, London, 1827, 51.
77 *Ibid.*, 51.
78 Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, III, 375.
79 *Ibid.*, III, 652.
80 *Ibid.*, III, 716.

religious communities if they fulfilled the requirements of the institutions in question, excepting those rules against color.[81] In 1814, Boves occupied the Venezuelan capital, and soon afterward had this proclamation published in the *Gaceta de Caracas*.[82] This might have broadened the opportunities of Negroes in more normal times, but at any rate, *pardos* had been admitted to the University of Caracas' school of medicine in 1797 and again in 1800.[83]

On the evil side of the Spanish role was the royalist reaction. As in all revolutions, the patriots had machinery for the suppression of opposition. Robert Semple, who was there in 1811, said that at the time the government of Caracas,

> . . . sensible of the necessity of great exertion, instituted a tribunal of vigilance, which paid domiciliary visits and ordered arrests upon the slightest grounds of suspicion. The theater was shut, to prevent all assembling of the people, the parties, balls, and concerts were no longer heard of.

He bemoaned the officially-sanctioned liberty of the press which was in reality strait-jacketed by provisions against discussion of anything contrary to "the system of Venezuela."[84] In 1812, the same strict policy was continued by the royalists, but with even greater severity. The great educational leaders were imprisoned. José Miguel Sanz and Dr. Roscio were cast into the dungeons of La Guaira. The nineteenth century Venezuelan historian, Aristides Rojas, mentions a letter written by the supreme chief of the Spanish expeditionary army, General Morillo, in 1817. It seems to describe Morillo's attitude. He told the governor of Guayana to do as he had done in New Granada, cut off the heads of those who could read and write and thereby achieve the pacification of America![85] Earlier, Morillo had said that the authorities ought to be vigilant in observing the law colleges of New Granada and Venezuela, for their products by tongue and pen diverted public opinion.[86] And yet, this was not a total view of the man, for he wanted to train Venezuelan orphan boys in useful trades and teach his non-commissioned officers tactics and mathematics.[87]

By 1815, the war in Venezuela had passed its early stage. Edu-

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[81] *Ibid.*, V, 27.
[82] González, 196.
[83] Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, *El regimen español en Venezuela*, Madrid, 1932, 132.
[84] Semple, 136.
[85] Blanco and Azpurúa, *Documentos*, II, 343.
[86] Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *El teniente general don Pablo Morillo*, 3 volumes, Madrid, 1908, III, 197.
[87] *Ibid.*, I, 204 and II, 244.

cation gained little practical value from either side for some years to come. Destruction rather than construction was the rule in economic, political, social, educational, and military affairs.[88] Until 1821, devastation continued. Then, the educational reforms of 1810 to 1815 could be solidified and renewed. Simón Bolívar, who had been the prime mover in the gaining of independence, was to be the initiator of a more liberal educational system. He had been as a boy under the influence of the crusader for liberal, even radical, primary education, Simón Rodríguez. In 1819, Bolívar stated before the Congress of Angostura that popular education was necessary to the new state of Gran Colombia. That better system was drawn up in great detail by the Congress of Gran Colombia in July of 1821. It established universal, free, and compulsory primary education to produce a literate population with sound understanding of Christianity and its moral duties as well as the rights of man in political life. Each city, town, and village of more than one hundred inhabitants was to have a preparatory school supported by the revenue of the town's domains, and to raise other needed educational funds the local judges were to assess the citizens according to their ability to pay a certain monthly sum. All children were to attend school gratis. Local judges were to pay the schoolmaster monthly and regularly, and the latter was to be named by the governor of the province from a list of three presented by local cabildos. Indian villages' schools were to be supported by farm produce and custom revenues. As a minimum, each teacher would instruct his students in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and church dogmas as well as in the rights and duties of citizenship.[89] Parents of children between the ages of six and twelve not in school were to be fined four pesos for the first offense, and double the amount if opposition continued after fifteen days. Each town was to have a girls' school in which the "three R's" would be learned. Higher education was remembered in a provision for a college in each province with chairs of civil, canon, natural, and national law, theology, and "any other professorship which the free will of the inhabitants, sanctioned by the Supreme Government, may establish." These were to be supported by the chapeleries in the particular provinces whose legal possessors were unknown, and by revenues

[88] Rojas, *op. cit.*, I, 207. The author says that several libraries were destroyed by the hatred aroused by the reaction after 1812.

[89] Walker, 423. Walker quotes in full these school laws. In 1820, H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein could write than even at that late date few schools for girls had been established by the government; H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein, *Memoirs of Simón Bolívar*, Boston, 1829, 21.

of the domains of the cabildos.[90] These school laws of 1821 were the first in the Western Hemisphere to propose so complete a system. But for the most part they were a dead letter.[91]

In a personal capacity, Joseph Lancaster tried to fulfill some of the decrees of the lawmakers of Gran Colombia. At the beginning of Venezuelan freedom, the seeds of his work had been planted, for in September, 1810, in Piccadilly, London, he met Simón Bolívar in the home of Francisco Miranda. Bolívar was in London with the great educator of a later day, Andrés Bello. Together with Luís López Méndez they were in Great Britain seeking aid for the new government of Caracas. In 1824, the Quaker Lancaster arrived in Caracas to help the new state in things educational.[92] His efforts were mostly in vain. Planning to teach free all who wanted to learn, he hoped to establish a normal school in Venezuela and to give the army basic knowledge so that "the warriors of the homeland of Bolívar be as celebrated by their valor as by their instruction."[93] Lancaster wanted to provide this mass education with a minimum of expense by means of his already world-famous Lancastrian or monitorial system, selecting the brighter students to instruct the average or backward pupils. While in Caracas, he adopted several boys orphaned by war, and planned to train them as teachers.[94]

Meanwhile, Bolívar had offered 20,000 duros for these pedagogical pursuits. The money was to be delivered to London by agents of the Peruvian government, and Lancaster might draw upon it as soon as he saw fit. The Liberator further promised to add to the amount when the original would be exhausted.[95] He even ordered the establishment of a normal school in the capital of each department.[96] As the money had not as yet been deposited in London, Lancaster got no cash, and in 1826 the cabildo of Caracas refused to pay the Englishman his salary. Bolívar reprimanded it, but Joseph Lancaster soon left Venezuela.[97]

From the first independent action in 1810, Venezuelan education was destined to profit, for it was a revolution of the enlightened minority against a less advanced minority and system. Much had

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90 Walker, I, 413–425.
91 Grisanti, 132.
92 O'Leary, XII, 244.
93 "Escuelas Lancasterianas," *Repertorio Americano*, II, London, June, 1827, 77.
94 *Ibid.*, II, 78.
95 Vicente Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, Caracas, 1932, IV, 295.
96 "Bolívar y la educación Latino-Americana," *Cultura Venezolana*,
97 Lecuna, V, 236–237.

been achieved directly through the leadership of that minority from 1810 to 1815. The press, although a political and military weapon, had at least been created; many newspapers would follow. Higher education, because its subject matter contained complex thought which the Revolution wished in part to preserve and in part destroy, felt the greatest effects. Its recently vaunted schools of law and medicine had been ruined by depopulation, but the new need for and attitude toward those two fields forebode their future recovery. Lower education would require a whole new, intricate system, and the desperate years, 1810-1815, saw no time, money, or thought for this. Even the next decades lacked funds and sufficient educational manpower. The returns of the earlier period had to be immediate. Although long-term rewards of instruction were left for much later leaders, the educational theories, and the more logical outlook toward childhood and its learning problems were clearly defined in the emancipation period.

The half century from the American Revolution to the conclusion of South American emancipation was in Venezuela a period of transition in which a new cultural basis was built.[98] Progress would be slow, but for the role of the Creoles in national affairs, there was no transition. Education was primarily but not entirely for them, in that Bolívar and others favored instruction for all the people. The evils he wanted to dissipate were described by Francis Hall, a visitor to Venezuela in the 1820's, as:

> . . . knowledge not flowing from a general system of education, in harmony with existing institutions, but knowledge infinitely various in its sources, at war with established opinions, and directed by no experience; hence the new political fabric was discordantly and weakly constructed . . .[99]

Still, even this early, truth was a bit better served, and the truth would make the people free. The lamp of learning had become brighter alongside its new champion, the torch of liberty.

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[98] Duane, 80.
[99] Hall, 54.

Book Reviews

Historians and Their Craft: A Study of the Presidential Addresses of the American Historical Association, 1884–1945. By Herman Ausubel, Ph.D. Columbia University Press, New York City, 1950. Pp. 373. $4.75.

If you like to see authorities in disagreement, you will certainly enjoy this volume. A very detailed study of this conflict has been made by Dr. Ausubel, using as a basis the historical thought reflected in the presidential addresses given at various meetings of the American Historical Association during the period from its founding in 1884 until the meeting in 1945. The addresses themselves are not given, but direct quotations are given from some, and the substance of others is presented. At the end of the volume, incidentally, a short bibliography is presented which will enable one to locate the addresses themselves, as well as other writings about many of his historians concerned.

In order to bring a degree of meaning into the comparisons, the author has presented the points of view among the authors as related to such matters as the immediate usefulness of history, history as literature, facts in history, the science and philosophy of history, individuals in history, and the content of history. In every such division of the material, there is considerable disagreement.

Andrew D. White, the first president of the Association, was convinced of the immediate usefulness of history. He firmly believed that the study of history could play an important role in the improvement of mankind. He argued in his address in 1884 that by studying the past we could throw much light on the present. Even at that date, 1884, which now seems rather remote, White was concerned because statesmen like John Adams, Jefferson, Webster and others who "could take advantage of their familiarity with history" had been supplanted with politicians "whose historical knowledge could stand considerable improvement." We wonder what White would think of many of our present spokesmen in the Senate, could he return to see them. Fortunately for him, such an opportunity will presumably not be granted.

A half dozen years later, in 1890, John Jay emphasized not only the immediate usefulness of history, but demanded that history be taught so as to foster patriotism. His arguments bear more than a slight resemblance to those being circulated at the time by Treitschke and other members of the so-called Prussian School. Jay, as bigoted as his grandfather, the first Chief Justice, had already written pamphlets with self-explanatory titles, such as *Rome in America* and *Rome, the Bible, and the Republic.* In his presidential address he continued his campaign to save Washington from Rome. Jay pointedly referred to the Catholic University, opened in 1889, as a "foreign university with a chair devoted to canon law, a system in antagonism with the Constitution and the common law on which the entire fabric of the Republic rests." Jay was also much concerned over

the immigrants then arriving, "a vast multitude who in their ignorance are ready to subvert our institutions, to supersede our national principles and rights, which they do not understand, and even in some cases to force into our public schools not only un-American ideas, but a foreign tongue." It is at least encouraging to realize that it is very doubtful if a president of the American Historical Association would even think of presenting today such drivel in his presidential address.

In 1904, Goldwin Smith stressed his belief that moral values should be clearly presented in historical writings; in 1909, however, Albert Bushnell Hart declared that "it was no part of the function of the scientific historian to distinguish between right and wrong, between virtue and vice; it was no part of his function to draw moral lessons from history." Hart urged his hearers "to avoid using history for propagandistic purposes." In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt stressed the practical value of history and also emphasized the ability of history to inspire sympathy and to arouse emotion. In the following year, however, William A. Dunning protested, in his address, against overemphasis on the immediate usefulness of history.

The disagreement among historians is evident, too, with reference to the freedom of man. In 1916, George L. Burr made clear his belief that man has freedom of will and action; in 1919 William R. Thayer took a similar position. Edward P. Cheney, in 1923, in formulating his "Law in History" made it evident that he believed that man lacked any freedom of will; men were simply subject to inexorable laws in history. In 1929, James Harvey Robinson urged that the historian should "devote more study to man's animal heritage; he should recognize that man was a superanimal, not a degraded angel." He recommended that the historian study the writings of such animal psychologists as Köhler and Pavlov.

Thus the controversy has been waged, as to the nature of history, and the objectives of historical writing and teaching. This book presents the conflict adequately, clearly, and objectively. The compiler, Dr. Ausubel, has not become actively concerned in the battle of words and the conflict of ideas.

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Tito and Goliath. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951. Pp. xi-312. $3.50.

Tito and Goliath is far more than just the story of a little satellite behind the iron curtain fighting back against his would-be keeper. Between the lines of this volume is everywhere evident the fact that nationalism is stronger than communism. The leaders of communistic states want their totalitarian powers intact, but they want them within the perimeter of their national states. They do not want to surrender to soviet Russia. To many of us Tito seems to stand alone. This is not so. One after another of the communist leaders in Poland, Hungary, Macedonia, Bul-

garia, went to their death because they championed the cause of national communist states. They wanted to refuse dictation from the Kremlin. The higher they stood the more imperative was their liquidation in the eyes of Stalin, because it put fear into those who might wish to follow in their footsteps. Such among others were Rajk and Rostov. So, Titoism is not an isolated fact nor the first of its kind.

The most striking lesson hidden in this book is that Russia wants to be the world island. All else must be subservient to this mania. If this subservience means the sacrifice of national consciousness and national independence, and it means only that, the sacrifice must be made. No amount of academic debate could bring into bolder relief this fact of Russian predominance than the fine narrative of Mr. Armstrong who knows whereof he speaks and speaks only in concerte pictures. Tito refuses to accept Stalin's dictation. Others refused and they are no more. Will Tito also be liquidated? Apparently his strong army, his personal courage and the peculiar character of his people, are a challenge to Stalin. The Kremlin dictator is in a dilemna and knows no immediate solution nor apparently his next move. Meantime Tito is turning westward for economic help where he is sure that it least Jugoslav national identity will not be lost.

At heart, by philosophic conviction and in set practice, Tito is a communist and nothing else. He moves slowly in his country but surely. His only quarrel with Moscow is nationalism. The impact of this spirit of nationalism is a threat not to communism but to Stalin's design to dominate the world from the Kremlin. Sovietism makes much of the principle that there can be no competition among soviet republics. Tito has effectively blasted this principle. Supplies of raw materials, industrial advance and fair market practices must be the characteristics of the soviet republics just as they are of the capitalist democracies and states, unless the soviet republics surrender their national identity and independence. This Tito will not do. This is Titoism. Under this name we know it in Jugoslavia, but the idea had been the undercurrent in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, indeed in all the satellite states, before Tito gave to it a name.

Mr. Armstrong gives us a fine analysis of the tactics Stalin is using in his efforts to establish his supremacy. Stalin has only the lust for power and communism is a handy tool, but only such communism as he designs. It is astounding, as one reads along in this volume, to realize how utterly useless are any motives of justice, truth, even civilized ideas in general, to say nothing of conscience, in the Stalin politics. A studied reading of the volume must bring home to any reader a sense of the threat from the Kremlin not only to international relations, but even to a rudimentary decency in human relations.

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Notes and Comments

There comes to hand a very handy book from Philosophical Library, Inc., of New York. It is *San Martin* by J. C. J. Metford, Lecturer in the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Glasgow. It is written as a tribute to the great South American commemorating the hundredth anniversary of his passing in Paris in 1850. The style is very smooth and even chatty. The author reveals an excellent grasp of the background for the whole area of San Martin's life and deeds, although no page is marred by a footnote. The narrative is based on Bartolomé Mitre's life of The Protector and upon extensive archival reading, while the quotations are chiefly from the British witnesses of the more dramatic moments of the hero's life—Basil Hall, General Miller, Lady Callcott, Miers, Haigh, Stevenson, and "El Diablo," Cochrane.

Historians will immediately ask: "What does the author say about the meeting between San Martín and Bolívar at Guayaquil?" Really, nothing new, except the opinion that San Martín had no political ambitions to preside over any part of South America, and when he considered his military work done he left the scene to others. Metford believes such an action was quite in character with the vigorous San Martin whom he has portrayed—a soldier. The military achievement of the man occupies most of the space in the 148 pages of the book.

Some of our textbook writers will be annoyed to see on the first page that Pedro de Alvardo has taken the honor of founding Buenos Aires in 1536 from Pedro de Mendoza and on page 118 that Bolívar's life is extended to 1831. No one will agree that Rivadavia brought order out of the anarchy in the provinces as is indicated on page 122. In this same page there is quite a gap regarding the manner of San Martin's departure from the Argentine. All will be thankful for a "new" San Martin and will be happy to believe that he was not addicted to narcotics but took opiates for pain from ulcers and lung trouble. The appendix, containing a description by Staples rather opposite to that of Lady Callcott, has a few naive remarks as an introduction, especially: "because of her alliance with Spain," Great Britain "was prevented from entering into official relations with the revolted colonies," and was "limited to mediation between the belligerents, in the

hope that Spain would eventually find some means of reconciling the colonists to her continued sovereignty." Despite the word "official" no Canning student will subscribe to this. However, you have here a very readable book.

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The University of Chicago Press has just put forth *Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium prepared by UNESCO,* under the editorship of Richard McKeon assisted by Stein Rokken, at the list price of $4.50. In this collection of essays thirty-four prominent authorities from almost as many nations and representing all schools of thought reply to a detailed questionnaire prepared by UNESCO on the ambiguity, the forms, objectives, and implications of the term 'Democracy'. Prompted by the vague and divergent connotations attributed to this word by the opposite sides of the iron curtain, the study is a remarkable attempt to obtain the best defenses of both viewpoints. Among the contributors are such celebratees as John Dewey, Ducasse, Jorgensen, Röpke, Rudolf Schlesinger, and Lord Lindsay of Birker. An analytical survey of the responses attempts to correlate the conflicts and agreements, but succeeds only in illustrating the complexity of notion of Democracy.

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Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Mississippi Valley, by Harold E. Briggs, Ph.D., which was first printed in 1940 by D. Appleton-Century Company, has been reprinted (1950) by Peter Smith, New York. Professor Briggs, author of the article appearing in the first pages of this number of MID-AMERICA and of other articles in the past, was at the time of the first publication of his work Professor of History at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, and is now at Southern Illinois University. It is good to have this colorful and scholarly work available again to students and for general reading purposes, since it tells of every activity, institution, phase of life, and of all important moves and characters of the vast Northwest frontier of the last century.

* * * *

The latest publication in The University of Missouri Studies series is *Mexico During the War With the Unted States,* by José Fernando Ramírez, Edited by Walter V. Scholes, and Translated

by Elliott B. Scherr. It is published by University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1950, and is paper bound for $2.50. This is a collection of the letters and political diary of Ramírez, one of the more important *politicos* of Mexico's turbulent history. As such it must be read warily. But it contains much factual material suitable as an inner background of the Mexican state of affairs immediately preceding and during the war. The translation which is very good, was made from Volume III of Genaro García's *Documentos inéditos,* published in 1905, and the editing and arrangement by Dr. Scholes is a very great help.

* * * *

A slow moving trend toward publishing longer articles in the more local historical quarterlies was followed by the editors of *Annals of Iowa* in their October, 1950, number. There we find in fifty-five pages: "Iowa Department of Public Instruction; Its Origin and Development," by John Purcell Street. The publication of such long studies in a single number may arouse some criticism on the part of readers wishing shorter and snappier articles, but it has already met with the approval of students and scholars for whom the factual material has been made more readily available and more ample and for whom the area of study has been made more comprehensible. In the same *Annals* for January 1, 1951, fifty-two pages on Civil War Copperheads are taken by Frank C. Arena in his article: "Southern Sympathizers in Iowa during the Civil War Period."

Other examples have appeared recently. Horse racing in Rush Park, Iowa, forms the content of the entire number of *The Palimpsest* of September, 1930. The general title of the four articles is "Lexington of the North," under which there are biographical sketches of Charles W. Williams, who originated the idea of breeding trotters in Iowa and also *The American Trotter* in 1891, of several noted trotters, and of the noted Rush Park. The contents of the October number of *The Palimpsest,* by six writers, were "The Lee Newspapers," an account of Albert W. Lee and the chain of newspapers under his control.

West Virginia History, printed a forty page biographical sketch "Ebenezer Zane, Frontiersman," by John Gerald Patterson, in its October 1950 number. It is an interesting and instructive account of Colonel Zane on the Ohio frontier covering the years 1747 to 1812.

"Body Snatching in Ohio during the Nineteenth Century" is perhaps the most sepulchral title yet to appear in an historical magazine. It is just inside the cover of the brilliantly striped *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* of October, 1950 The article by Dr. Linden F. Edwards and the two following it were read as papers at the meeting of the Committee on Medical History of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society last April. At the end of the same number there are two useful bibliographies, one a survey of the publications on Ohio from August, 1949, to July, 1950, and the other on the publications of the Ohio Academy of History. In the January, 1951, number there is a notable critical review by Carl Wittke: "An 1850 Preview of *World's in Collision,*" in which the historical value of Velikovsky's best seller is practically nullified.

* * * *

Among the interesting papers in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for January of this year is a new assessment of *The Chronicles of America* by Richard L. Watson, Jr. The author felt urged to his task by the appearance of the six volumes that have been added to the series to bring *The Chronicles* to present times. These last volumes fare well at the hands of Dr. Watson except for volume 54, Fletcher Pratt's *War for the World.* The critic makes some judicious remarks about the strength and weaknesses of the series as a whole.

* * * *

The first number of the *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografia—Review of Inter-American Bibliography,* dated January 1951, is now published. The Pan American Union, the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States, is the sponsor and publisher of the quarterly, which is to contain bibliographical studies, reviews, and materials in four languages—Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French. The annual subscription price is three dollars. A distinguished staff is employed in the editorial work. It is hoped that the present photo-type will soon be changed to formal print, but support is needed to this effect. The title of the quarterly, the headings of articles and of notes appear in both English and Spanish and seem somewhat awkward, especially for citation purposes. This form may be changed, though the editors have been hard put to devise one more suitable for the general purposes of the publication.

Articles on James Madison fill *The William and Mary Quarterly* for January, 1951. Under the broader title "James Madison, 1751–1836, Bicentennial Number," Irving Brant has "Madison: On the Separation of Church and State"; Theodore Bolton has a finely illustrated description of "The Life Portraits of James Madison"; Douglas Adair has "The Tenth Federalist Revisited"; Margaret Bailey Tinkcom's "Caviar Along the Potomac: Sir Augustus John Foster's 'Notes on the United States'," is very interesting; but H. Trevor Colbourn has a noteworthy "punch line" account in his "Madison Eulogized: The Hearst Tournament of Orators." This piece of satire and humor has the subtitle: "The Hearst Tournament of Orators glorifies (one year early) the anniversary of the birth of the Father of the Constitution." It is well worth reading.

* * * *

A warm welcome to the circle of historical magazines is give to *The Montana Magazine of History,* born in January, 1951. The Legislature of the State of Montana is to be congratulated for establishing The Historical Society of Montana, and the Society is to be congratulated for carrying out so well the publications provision of the law. The format and contents of the first number are very pleasing. The thick paper cover, a knotty pine design, encloses eighty-eight pages of articles, reviews, illustrations and news. The Editor is the experienced Albert J. Partoll, and the President of the Board of Trustees of the Society is Norman Winestine. The quarterly is to be published in Helena and goes with the membership fee of three dollars.

* * * *

Life on the Upper Susquehanna, by James Arthur Frost, has just now (March 29) been published by King's Crown Press, the branch of Columbia University Press devoted to making scholarly materials available at minimum cost, which in this case is $2.75. The book is advertised as a concise history of the people of the land of James Fenimore Cooper. Its text confirms the statement, since it runs to 128 pages, but there are 38 pages of notes and bibliography to add value to the contribution. The pattern is unique and quite noteworthy. Frost does not limit his area of research too strictly along geographical lines nor does he identify his people with the too general American citizen, as is so common in local

history and biography. He points to similarities between the early settlers of the New York lands and those of other regions, but is artful enough to indicate special differences in the Susquehanna reactions to the political, social and religious phases of our national and the New York State development. He has produced a nice argument against many time-honored generalizations about pioneers, frontiers, and struggles in new lands. Poverty and distress did not force settlers to squat in the Upper Susquehanna vales. Thrifty Protestants saw there a good investment; Catholics, foreigners and others were practically excluded. Independent thought in the region refused to be harnessed to national or state political machines. The concluding chapter is a summary of the contribution of the Susquehannans to the national scene.

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An Historical Review

VOLUME 33, NUMBER 3 JULY 1951

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MID-AMERICA
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VOLUME 33 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 22 NUMBER 3

Trade Interests of XVIII Century British Travel Writers

The voyages of Portuguese and Spanish ships during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resulted in the opening of the seas of the world to venturesome Europeans and in world-wide discoveries of new lands and strange peoples. The data about each newly found coast or island gathered by pilot after pilot was used by cartographers to fill in the open spaces on their world charts. In time letters of travellers, journals of explorers, accounts of merchants, government agents, and missionaries who had journeyed abroad began to be culled for more detailed information which might add value to the maps in process of composition and make obsolete those drafted shortly before.

After the exploits of Magellan by sea and Cortés by land filtered down to the people the enthusiasm for the New World grew by leaps and bounds. Voyageurs of whatever sort began to vie with one another in relating experiences, actual or fancied, gained in the Indies. The courts rejoiced in the ever expanding glories of their overseas empires. Merchants of Spain and Portugal quickened the envy of their continental rivals. Your cartographers in Spain, as those of earlier years in Portugal, were happy to place on their charts many highly glamerous placenames—La Florida, El Dorado, Castillo del Oro, Cíbola, Mar del Sur, Portobelo, Puerto Rico, Amazonas, California, Potosí, Zacatecas, Rio de la Plata. Incoming ships brought news of the latest wonders along with samples of the wealth of the Americans. All news further whetted the appetites of envious foreigners. Agents, spies and thieves busied themselves about obtaining maps or copies of maps, relations of voyages, or letters from the Americas, all of which were

in demand in Europe. Pirates, privateers and other navigators of Holland, France and the British Isles came to know the West Indies and the American coasts very well. People of the ports of England, welcoming the tales of returning seamen, caught the spirit of adventure and felt the lure of exploration for personal gain or glory.

Clearing the Oxford examinations in 1577, Richard Hakluyt, then twenty-four years old, raised from infancy in a tradition of map study, presented the first public lectures in England on geography. His first scholarly task was to bring the maps of the world abreast of the time for the British. His work of coordinating previous knowledge of the world was of course a godsend to navigators and potential navigators. Not only were they inspired with confidence by the most accurate information extant, but the public became inspired to back merchantmen (to say nothing of pirates) outward bound for foreign commodities. The quicker returns from piratical expeditions had much to do with hampering the development of a normal trade in England during the seventeenth century.

Hakluyt's next step toward making the British geographically-minded proved to be a powerful stimulant toward making them discovery-conscious. From 1582 he published eyewitness accounts of famous voyages of discovery, beginning with *Divers Voyages touching the Discoveries of America.* The complete pattern of his inspiring publications appeared in 1589.[1] Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he was followed by a long list of writers most of whom sought to instill in their readers both pride in the exploits of their countrymen on the high seas and encouragement to do like deeds. Foreign accounts and books were gathered, translated and published sometimes individually, sometimes as parts of larger collections.

How popular the new travel literature had remained in eighteenth century England is amply brought out by comtemporaries. A good instance of the issue at point was the Reverend Mr. Barclay. One almost smiles to hear this learned gentleman explain how the "small encouragement now given, for publishing books upon any divine subject," has hindered him from prosecuting his "design of publishing a second *Letter to the people in Scotland,* endeavoring to *remove* their *prejudices* to the Book of Common Prayer."[2] The

[1] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation,* London, 1589.

[2] Patrick Barclay, *The Universal Traveller,* London, 1735, Preface.

Reverend Mr. Barclay seems to have had little trouble in finding a publisher for his *Universal Traveller,* a type of literature more agreeable to the devotees of present enjoyment, or to those avid for financially profitable voyages to far lands. Another divine, the Reverend John Harris, mentions "the peculiar Pleasure and improvement that Books of Voyages and Travels afford" as the reason why "they are as much, if not more read than any one Branch of polite Literature."[3]

For further indication of a growing vogue of travel-literature one might consult a handy reference guide to the literature of the period. The great number of printed volumes on geography and travel found there gives witness to their popularity. Significantly too many of these works went into two or more editions. After all, publishers of bygone centuries were no less zealous in their quest for "best sellers" than those of the present day.

For the most part, writers and publishers of books on geography and travel seem to have aimed at a rather broad reading public. John Stevens, for example, in his *Peter de Cieza,* felt that people needed not to be convinced of the utility of reading travel books. Certainly every gentleman should know and be able to converse intelligently on the location, geography, and products of other countries; every merchant should know what the far places had to sell. What could be more entertaining to people of every walk of life than to hear of the strange customs, laws, religions and governments of the various lands in this world of ours?[4] Similar appeals were made by other writers. What is more, they seem to have captured the public at which they aimed. A good indication of this widespread reading interest is had from the lists of subscribers given by some of these writers. In these lists,

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[3] John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca,* 2 vols., London, 1744–1748, Preface to volume I. An interesting story is told by the Reverend Peter Heylyn, *Chorography in Four Books,* London, 1703, in his "To the Reader." The story reads like a page out of Dickens. Heylyn tells how he had been brought to trial before the "Committee for the Courts of Justice" in 1640, "on the complaint of Mr. Prynne, then newly return'd from his Confinement, and in great credit with the Vulgar." He was acquitted, but on his way from Westminster to White-Hall he was stopped by a "tall big Gentleman, who thrusting me rudely from the Wall, and looking over his Shoulder on me in a scornful manner, said in a hoarse Voice, these words, *Geography is better than Divinity;* and so passed along. . . . But sure I am. I have since thought very often of it; and that the thought thereof had its influence on me, in drawing me to look back on those Younger Studies, in which I was *resolved to have dealt no more.*"

[4] John Stevens, editor, *The Seventeen Years Travels of Peter de Cieza,* London, 1709, Dedication.

in addition to "gentlemen," one finds lawyers, doctors, teachers, clergymen, merchants, ships' captains, army men, and government officials.[5]

What strikes the reader most forcefully in the travel literature of the eighteenth century, is the great emphasis placed on trade and commerce, a fact not surprising when one considers how positively trade-mad people were in that trade-mad century. The English writer Erasmus Phillips is merely striking the keynote of his age when he tells the world that: "Trade is to the Body Politick as the Blood is to human body; it diffuses itself by the minutest Canals into every part of a Nation, and gives Life and Vigour to the whole: Without this, no Country can be happy within herself, or support herself without against the Attacks of a powerful Neighbor. Trade it is that brings us all the Aids, the Conveniences, the Luxury of Life; 'Tis she that encourages all Arts and Sciences, gives Hopes to Invention, and Riches to Industry; Strength, Wisdom and Policy are in her Train; Plenty, Liberty, and Happiness are her perpetual Companions."[6] Nor is this an isolated instance of eighteenth century politico-economic thought. One has not to read far into the numerous tracts, essays and pamphlets of the period to find many such passages. Naturally travel writers became imbued with a similar philosophy of trade. Some, to be sure, wrote precisely with furtherance of trade in mind. Though others did not, they were for the most part loyal enough Englishmen to burn their share of incense at the shrine of Mercury, Roman god of merchants (and thieves), in one form or another. A study of the dedications, rescripts, edvertisements, prefaces and introductions of the authors themselves verifies this conclusion. Since it will be impossible here to consider all of them, it will be the purpose of this paper to study some of the principal travel works published at the beginning, middle and end of the eighteenth century.[7]

In 1704 Awnsham and John Churchill published what was to become one of the best known, best edited and most frequently

[5] For examples of such lists cf. Pascoe Thomas, *A True and Impartial Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*, London, 1745, and Richard Walter, *A Voyage Round the World*, London, 1748.

[6] Erasmus Philipps, *The State of the Nation*, London, 1725, 1–2.

[7] This does not mean that the writers of the seventeenth century did not have similar interests. Notice the way in which Purchas, for example, pointed with pride to the *Golden Hind*, which came back to England "with her belly full of Gold and Silver," and in effect bade Englishmen to go out and do like deeds. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, London, 1613, Book VIII, Chapter i, 603.

quoted collections of travels.[8] At the beginning of the first volume, opposite the title page, is printed a rescript of William III giving the two brothers a "copyright" for fourteen years. Why the grant is made and in what precisely it consists is interesting enough; but more to our present concern is that part of the rescript proclaiming the usefulness of the volumes, that is their "great advantage as well to Trade as Navigation."

To be sure the advance in trade was not the sole aim of the Churchills in publishing their work. The sale of the work, the history and trends in navigation were further incentives to break into print. Thus at the beginning of the first volume there is "An Introductory Discourse, containing the whole History of Navigation from its original to this time."[9] The essay opens with the statement: "Of all the inventions and Improvements the wit of man has discover'd and brought to Perfection, none seems to be so universally useful, profitable and necessary, as the Art of Navigation." The author then begins, after the manner of the times, with Noah's Ark, ordered to be built by God, and thought by some to have been the first vessel ever constructed. He, however, thinks that people must have had ships before that time.

Coming down to "Terra del Fuogo" the writer states that little need be said of it, because it is little known, "and *not worth conquering* by reason of its coldness."[10] That it was not navigation alone, but navigation in relation to commerce which the author had in mind, is shown when he deals with the Spanish possessions. In summing up the various commodities which could be had from these, he tells us that "the principal are Gold, Silver, Pearls, Emeralds, Amethists, Cochineal of several sorts, Indigo, Anatto, Logwood, Brasil, *Nicaragua* Wood, Brasilette, Fustick, *Ligum Vitae,* Sugar, Ginger, Cacao, Bairullas, Cotton, Red Wool, Tobacco of various sorts, Snuff. Hides raw and tann'd, Amber-greece of all

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[8] Awnsham and John Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels,* 4 vols., London, 1704. The first edition was completed in 1704 in four volumes folio, but already the two brothers had materials for two additional volumes. These were published in 1732, and together with a reprint of the first four, make up the second edition. A third edition, six volumes folio, was published 1744–1746. Meanwhile Thomas Osborne, in 1745 and 1747, edited two additional volumes from materials gathered from the library of the Earl of Oxford. These volumes are generally referred to as the Osborne collection, or, after their source, as the Oxford collection. The entire eight volumes were published as a whole by Osborne in 1752. References given by the present writer refer to the 1704 edition, except where otherwise stated.

[9] *Ibid.,* I, ix–lxxiii.

[10] *Ibid.,* I, lxii, Col. 2, Italics mine.

sorts, Bezoar, Balsam of *Tolu,* of *Peru,* and of *Chile,* Jesuit Bark, Jallap, Mechoacan, Sarsaparilla, Sassafras, Tamarinds, Caffia, and many other things of lesser note."[11]

Actually the ghost of trade prevades the whole four volumes. Nor can the present writer be charged with "seeing things." In his dedication to Thomas Carew, Esq., M.P., Thomas Osborne, editor of the well known edition of Churchill, states flatly: "though Amusement has in some Measure been regarded, the Choice of Subjects in this Collection has, with more Justice to the Reader, been designated for his Instruction in Cosmography, and for his more advantageous Knowledge of the separate Government, Revenue, Strength, Religion, Customs, Interests, Products, Trade, Commerce, and Navigation of each Country here described."[12] Though Osborne had his own two volumes of additions in view when he made the above statement, he might well have applied it to the entire work.

In 1711 Sir John Narbrough published an account of his voyage to the South Sea undertaken by command of Charles II. The general purpose of the undertaking is nicely brought out in Narbrough's instructions to Captain Fleming, one of the party and commander of the *Bachelor.*[13] It was, in brief, to explore the coasts of South America beginning at La Plata, moving southward around the Strait of Magellan and then up the Chilean coast. If possible they were to lay the foundations of trade as they went along. Consequently orders were given not only to explore the coast with its bays, harbours, rivers, its climate, its winds, and the like, but also to note accurately the nature of the soil, its fruits, woods, grains, birds, beasts, minerals, etc. Again, the "Temper and Inclinations" of the Indians were to be noted, and whenever possible these were to be impressed with the power and wealth of Great Britain, all toward establishing trade relations in these lands. The ensuing account of the voyage abounds in references to trade and commerce.

Further indications of Britain's interest in the South Seas at this time is given by Captain Edward Cooke. Speaking of the "much talk'd of" South Sea trade in the introduction to volume II of his Relation, Cooke refers his readers to his first volume, where he has shown in what precisely this trade may consist. For a person to know what the various countries can offer for sale is

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[11] *Ibid.,* I, lxiii, Col. 2.
[12] Osborne Edition, 1745, Dedication.
[13] Sir John Narbrough, "Voyage to the South-Sea," in *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries,* London, 1711, 10–11.

sufficient, he thinks, to form a basis for judging trade possibilities.[14] From his dedication to Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of the realm, Cooke clearly wrote with intent to further trade. He tells the nobleman that he is presenting a *Voyage* "principally intended to reap the Advantages of the South-Sea trade" of which his Lordship was the patron.[15] It may be noted here that, a few years later, the editor of Frézier's *Voyage to the South Sea* dedicated his efforts to His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales and Governor of the South Sea Company.[16] The Reverend Mr. Barclay would assure himself of patronage by dedicating his book to all the "Worthy Merchants of the City of London.[17]

Daniel Defoe's interest in the South Sea trade is too well known to necessitate any lengthy exposition. One typical example of this will suffice. In the first part of his *Voyage* he explains why this traffic is of greater advantage to Britain than the Oriental trade. In the Oriental trade Britain has to pay out money instead of merchandise for the wares she obtains. On the other hand, he tells us, the numerous peoples of the South Seas have no manufacture of their own and will therefore, especially after being civilized, take great quantities of whatever Britain has to offer in return for gold and perhaps spices, "the best Merchandise and Return in the World."[18] Defoe cites his own experience as an

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[14] Captain Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea*, 2 vols., London, 1712, II, Introduction, ix.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, Dedication.

[16] Amédéé François Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea*, London, 1717.

[17] Barclay, *Universal Traveller*, Dedication. The following excerpt from Barclay is typical of such dedications: "Gentlemen, The following sheets treating of a Subject, in which You have so considerable an Interest, (as they give a Detail of the Beginning, Progress, and Settlement of the trade to both the Indies, which your Predecessors, Merchants of the City of London, so gloriously carried on, at the Expense of their Blood and Treasure) I could not chuse fitter Patrons for my Traveller than you, who not only follow the noble Pattern set you by them, in venturing your Fortunes, and, many of you, your Lives, to promote that Trade, and, consequently, the Riches of the Nation but with a Courage, becoming a Society of Gentlemen, and Free-Born Subjects, dare make a brave Stand for Liberty, and for the Freedom of Commerce, whenever you apprehend any Encouragement like to be made upon them; of which, without Doubt, You are the best Judges."

[18] Daniel Defoe, *A New Voyage Round the World by a Course never sailed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by some Merchants, who afterwards proposed the Setting up an East-India Company in Flanders*, London, 1725, Part I, 177. In his *Plan of the English Commerce*, published a few years later, in 1728, Defoe uses Tacitus-like methods to arouse the English. He chides the merchants, manufacturers, etc., for failing to make a complete study of all the elements making for trade, at the same time holding up the Spaniards and others as models of industry and venturesomeness in the matter.

illustration. On his voyage, gold, spices and oriental silks were obtained at Manila in return for British manufactures; the spices and silks were taken to Hispanic America and sold for gold. In the eyes of eighteenth century mercantilists here was the perfect trade pattern.[19]

The decades of the mid-eighteenth century were to witness an almost constant struggle between Great Britain on the one hand and Spain and France on the other. The War of Jenkins' Ear. begun in 1739, viewed in the light of the series of wars for control of overseas empire, was only a prelude to the broader War of the Austrian Succession, which was not to end until 1748. Yet Jenkins signifies more in the story of individual interest in colonial products, for Jenkins in his trade enterprise at Portobelo was endeavoring to break in upon the official trade agreements made between England and Spain in 1713 and the privileged traders. The peace of 1748 ushered in a brief respite which lasted until the Seven Years' War broke out in 1755. This too had its colonial counterpart, lasting until the Peace of Paris in 1763. Throughout the struggle Spain, to say nothing of France, suffered greatly in her colonies. Already in 1739 Vernon was sacking Portobelo. Cartagena was attacked and almost taken by the British in 1741, while at the same time Anson was patrolling the Pacific successfully seeking Spanish prey. The end of it all was to find Britain richer by Canada and East and West Florida.

These wars are now regarded as having been essentially commercial in nature. France and Spain were making a last dying effort to stave off the ever increasing power of the British. It is not at all surprising therefore to find such British travel literature as was printed during these years to be full of interest in trade and commerce. Not only was information being sought such as would be beneficial once the peace was established, but, more

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19 What Defoe's contemporaries understood by a "favorable balance" of trade and the importance they attached to it is nicely brought out by William Wood in his *Survey of Trade*, London, 1722. On pages 81 and 82 of this essay Wood sets down what he calls the four "Marks of a Beneficial Trade." In substance they are as follows: 1. That is good trade which absorbs superfluous home manufactures. 2. Beneficial too is that which brings in raw products of manufacture especially when exchanged for finished wares. 3. Advantage is also had when manufactures are exchanged for manufactures, or commodities for commodities. Even when money is paid as part of the price, this is agreeable to good business if the major part of the wares thus brought in are resold out of the nation. 4. Generally speaking the re-exporting of imports is always advantageous, since in this way the carrying-trade of the nation is furthered. The maxims for testing the value of every trade which Wood then gives, ring the changes over and over on a favorable balance of trade.

immediately, such as would be of advantage to merchant and military alike while the nations were still at war.

Shortly after the beginning of the first of the two mid-century conflicts, Doctor John Campbell published the first edition of his *History of Spanish America.* In the title the writer reveals his intentions.[20] Then, in his preface, Campbell states that it is "the desire which the Publick discovers of being thoroughly acquainted with the past and present situation of the Spanish West Indies," which has impelled him to his undertaking. His chief aim will be to throw light on the unamended errors made by his Catholic Majesty in the Americas. Furthermore, if ever these errors will be righted, it will be because of the present unsuccessful war. All is not lost for Spain. Rather her affairs can still be a "Credit of the Crown, and the Happiness of the People." The solution is simple enough. All Spain has to do is to become an ally instead of an enemy of the British. "As an Ally, we are more concerned than any other to protect and to promote their Interests, because they never can interfere with ours; and in respect to Commerce, we can supply their Wants cheaper and more effectually than any other Nation, and also take more of their Goods in Return. On the other hand, if at Variance, we can at any Time defeat all their Projects in Europe, and in a great measure cut off their Intercourse with America." Certainly, he argued, the French alliance can do Spain no good. The sooner the Spanish act for their own interests instead of abetting the French intrigues, the better it will be for all concerned.[21]

Such in effect is Campbell's understanding of the situation. The whole of the work following is shot through with references to trade. It is precisely the type of book that a merchant, such as Campbell calls himself, would write. Scarcely a chapter passes without stimulating mention of trade, manufactures, mines and precious metals.

At the opening of the eighteenth century John Harris, scientist,

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[20] John Campbell, *A Concise History of the Spanish America; containing A succinct Relation of the Discovery and settlements of its several Colonies: A Circumstantial Detail of their respective Situation, Extent, Commodities, Trade, &c.* And a *full and clear Account of the Commerce with Old Spain by the Galleons, Flota, &c. As also of the Contraband Trade with the English, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese. Together with An Appendix, In which is comprehended an exact Description of Paraguay. Collected chiefly from Spanish Writers,* London, 1741. A second edition was published in 1747 under the title: *The Spanish Empire in America.* Except for the title page this is an exact reproduction of the 1741 edition. The pagination is the same throughout.

[21] *Ibid.,* Preface, v-vii.

divine, and topographer, was commissioned by London booksellers to edit a collection of voyages.[22] This work, first published in 1705, quite likely was inspired by the Churchills' popularity and by a desire to compete with their *Collection* in the book market. Still the two works are different. Whereas the Churchills give a more or less exact reproduction of specific writings such as those of Ovalle, Del Techo, etc., Harris attempts to write a sort of universal history of voyages and travels, as frequently as not digesting in his own words the findings of his authorities.[23] Harris's Collection was improved and reedited by John Campbell in 1744–1748. It is thus quite fitting that it be considered here along with Campbell's own work rather than with the earlier writers.

The dedication "To the Merchants of Great-Britain," is a classic example of contemporary British trade philosophy. At the outset the writer avers that he could not have chosen more suitable patrons, since in his work he owes so much to them.[24] Moreover, considering his purpose to depict the history and advantages of commerce "in a true light," his choice is all the more suitable. Mankind, he shows, dispersed by God as a punishment, is now drawn together by trade and commerce. In time, with God's approval, trade has come to lighten the burden of men while increasing their happiness. To this course England has been no exception.

> To Commerce we owe our Wealth; for though Labour may improve, though Arms may extend, yet Commerce only can enrich a Country. It is this that establishes and extends Manufactures, and while it employs all Ranks of People, provides suitable Rewards for their several Employments. It is this, and this alone that can excite and encourage universal Industry, by providing, that all who take Pains, shall reap Profit, and that what raises the Fortunes of Individuals, shall prove at the same Time, and in the same Degree, beneficial to Society.

Finally, since the function of works like his is to give such information as would further the common weal, the author vows that he has done all in his power towards encouraging and extending trade as a "means of making us great, wealthy, powerful and happy People."

This same theme is carried over into the introduction where the writer waxes almost eloquent. Britain, he says, has wares in

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[22] John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, 2 vols., fol., London, 1705. Further editions 1744–1748 and 1764. The edition referred to here is that edited by John Campbell, London, 1744–1748.

[23] Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, 2 vols., Seattle, 1935–1938, I, 10.

[24] The writer of the dedication is evidently John Campbell, since it is dated December 3, 1745. Harris died in 1719.

abundance to dispose of, and the world is full of people who want them. Furthermore, if some "modern Sceptick" should demand where these be, "the following Sheets will shew, that the Means of Finding are very well known." What is needed therefore is "Will" and "Vigour." If these are present then the divine saying: "*If we search, we shall find; if we knock, it will be opened*," will be found true of temporal as well as of spiritual affairs.[25] Thus the Scriptures were made to argue for British enterprises!

A like consideration of trade guided Emanuel Bowen in the format of his *Geography.* The study of geography in itself, he insisted, is useless if no people inhabit the lands considered. But where there are people there is a story to be told. And hence the role of history. Furthermore, since dates and facts are dry as dust, these must needs be livened up by "political Reflections." Lastly he brings forth an argument of utmost concern to the enterprising Britisher; though one knows all things, without a proper knowledge of trade, he can not be said to know the world. Above all else then "the Produce, Commodities, Manufactures and Commerce of every Country" must be given due consideration in the work that follows.[26] Actually the author refers to his book as a "universal Map of Commerce" for the trader.[27]

An interesting two volume work appeared in 1757 entitled *An Account of the European Settlements in America.* The author is sometimes supposed to have been the illustrious Edmund Burke. Be this as it may, he leaves no doubt as to his intentions, which were expressly the furtherance of trade and commerce. Even the civil and natural history of the settlements will be "little considered," and, when treated, only in so far as they offer help to understanding commercial matters.[28]

In 1758 there was published at London an English translation of Juan and Ulloa's *Relación histórica del viaje á la América meridional.* This work, to the mind of the editor, should prove most acceptable to the British, since "nothing seems to have been more carefully considered by the authors, than the commercial history of these countries."[29] One after another the editor points out the

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[25] Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca,* Introduction, xvi.

[26] Emanuel Bowen, *A Complete System of Geography,* 2 vols., London, 1747, Preface, vii.

[27] *Ibid.*, x.

[28] [Edmund Burke (?)], *An Account of the European Settlements in America,* 2 vols., London, 1757–1758, Preface, 4.

[29] Juan, George, and Ulloa, Don Antonio de, *A Voyage to South-America,* 2 vols., London, 1758, Preface, x-xi.

interesting features of the work,—the proper commodities of each section, how they are processed, their value, the nature of manufactures, the produce of the various mines, transportation facilities, contraband trade, communication with Europe, the nature and extent of native trade. The English editor evidently saw in his publication an advantage to business.

English publishers had from the time of Hakluyt drawn widely on Catholic missionaries for information on distant places. With the opening of the New World the missionaries of the Americas, particularly the Jesuits, were to offer great help in filling out numerous gaps in the world's knowledge of those lands.

The reason why the fathers were consulted is to be found in their writings as well as in the peculiar position of the men themselves. Almost a century ago, in his introduction to the translation of an excerpt from Baegert's *Nachrichten,* Charles Rau paused to compliment the Jesuits of bygone years for their wonderful work in the New World. Even Protestants, he wrote, though they may differ with "the tendencies of that order," must admit that they "deserve great credit for their zeal in propagating a knowledge of the countries and nations they visited in the New World."[30] Rau concluded his eulogy with a quotation from a comtemporary writer, J. H. Kohn:

> The missionaries and discoverers whom the order of the Jesuits sent forth were for the most part not only possessed of the courage of martyrs, and of statesmanlike qualities, but likewise of great knowledge and learning. They were enthusiastic travellers, naturalists, and Geographers; they were the best mathematicians and astronomers of their time. They have been the first to give us faithful and circumstantial accounts of the new countries and nations they visited. There are few districts in the interior of America concerning which the Jesuits have not supplied us with the oldest and best works . . . . and there are few rivers, lakes, and mountains in the interior, which they have not been the first to draw upon our maps.

Writers of earlier centuries were not without a similar appreciation of the scholarly writings of the missionaries. Perhaps one of the best instances of admiration, mingled with prejudice and even fear of the Jesuits, is to be found in the case of Lockman, who nevertheless thought their letters sufficiently important to deserve publication. In the preface of his *Travels of the Jesuits* he boldly states that "no Men are better qualified to describe Na-

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[30] Charles Rau, "An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula," *Reports*: Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., 1863, Introduction, 357.

tions and Countries than the Jesuits." Lockman claims that the reasons for this are first of all their education, learning and knowledge of languages. Add to these qualifications their knowledge of arts and sciences and an "insinuating Address, to glide into Courts, where access is often even denied to all but themselves." All these factors, he thinks, together with a thorough knowledge of the natives with whom they abide, frequently for many years, gave the Jesuits a much more thorough knowledge of a nation than such as is had by merchants or travellers who merely tough its shores.[31]

R. Gosting in the preface of his *Travels* sums up the reasons why the Jesuits could be consulted with profit as follows:

> The Missionaries being settled Inhabitants of those Countries they write of, speaking the Languages and reading the Books, are able to acquaint us with many Curiosities, which Travellers in passing through can never be Masters of. The Writers of those Letters make the Knowledge of those People they are among their Study, and converse with all Sorts from the Highest to the Meanest; they are Men chosen out of Many for that Purpose, and consequently the only Persons that can set us Right in our Notions of those People so remote from us, and so different in all Respects.[32]

Publishers of the famed Churchill *Collection* also relied much on the Jesuit writers to fill out their volumes. Why they did so is explained in the "advertisements" placed before the accounts borrowed. Thus, in presenting Father Barri's account of Cochin-China, the editor mentions how the writer, living for years with the people he described, was thoroughly conversant with their language. His account, therefore, is not like that of merchants and traders who merely see the port cities and take the rest on hearsay.[33] In like manner the account of Father Sepp's voyage to Paraguay is included in the work because of the numerous, hitherto unknown, incidents it contains.[34] The third volume of the *Collection* begins with Ovalle's history of Chile, which, as the editor sees it, is the only good history of Chile in existence. The story is complete and accurate, in spite of Ovalle's modest presentation of it, and as such it demands recommendation rather than excuse. However, since the translator has already given

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31 Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits*, 2 vols., London, 1743, I, viii-ix.

32 R. Gosting, *The Travels of several Learned Missionaries of the Society of Jesus*, London, 1714, Preface.

33 Christopher Barri, "An Account of Cochin-China," in Churchill, *Collection*, II, 787–838, To the Reader, 787.

34 Anton Sepp, "An Account of a Voyage from Spain to Paraquaria," in Churchill, *Collection*, IV, 633–664, Advertisement to the Reader, IV, 634.

"the Author and his Work that honourable Character they deserve," the editor thinks that no more need be said to recommend its perusal.[35] Last, coming to Techo's relation, the editor after treating of its contents declares that there is scarcely any reason to question its truthfulness. Using a bit of historical criticism, he shows that the author had nothing to gain by lying. Furthermore, having lived twenty-five years in the country he describes, there is no danger that he should lack sufficient knowledge for accurate presentation of his account.[36]

In brief, then, the reasons why the Jesuits were consulted by writers of travel literature were that they were peculiarly equipped in education and training to make accurate observations. They knew, or soon came to know, the language of the people with whom they resided, and were thus able to observe at first hand what others got from hearsay. Living in the interior of the lands they described, sometimes for years, they had a further advantage over such writers as came to see little more than the port cities and commercial centers of the land. Furthermore, according to their English critics, the Jesuits were essentially honest, except perhaps when they began to talk about "miracles" and such-like wondrous things. However, narratives based on miracles could be, and generally were, easily purged from what were otherwise considered accurate writings.[37]

It was not only the shorter works of the missionaries that were to see the light of day in English garb. An English translation was made of Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* from the Dutch version in 1598 and from the original Spanish in 1604. Burriel's *Noticia de la California,* long ascribed to Venegas, was published in English in 1759 and again in 1764. Charlevoix's *History of Paraguay* appeared at London in 1769, Clavigero's *History of Mexico* in 1787, Molina's *History of Chile* in 1809, and Dobrizhoffer's *Account of the Abipones* in 1822. Falkner's *Descrip-*

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35 Alonso de Ovalle, "An Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chili," in Churchill, *Collection,* III, 1–138, Preface, vi.

36 Nicholas del Techo, "The History of the Provinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, Parana, Guiana and Urvaica, . . ." in Churchill, *Collection,* IV, 80–807, Preface.

37 The British were not the only ones to act in this manner. With the banishment of the Jesuits from France, government officials there seem to have made a practice of destroying such Jesuit records as pertained to their religious life, retaining those which had any economic value. In this way countless documents pertaining to the early history of the Society of Jesus have been lost. Cf. Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Documents: Marquette's Ordination," *Mid-America,* XXXII, January, 1950, 48.

tion of Pategonia originally written in English was published at Hereford in 1774.

Nor must it be imagined that the works of these missionaries, whether published as individual volumes or as parts of larger collections, failed to leave their imprint on the writers who followed them. A list of Englishmen who used the Jesuit missionaries as sources would have to include, among others, Edward Cooke, Thomas Bankes, Samuel Purchas, Woodes Rogers, Patrick Barclay, John Campbell, Pascoe Thomas, Emanuel Bowen, Alexander Dalrymple. John Hamilton Moore, William Robertson, John Pinkerton and James Burney. It is scarcely possible here to treat of the writings of all of these authors. By way of example, however, it will be useful and enlightening to note how two of them, Captain Woodes Rogers and Emanuel Bowen, used the missionary writers to gather information for furtherance of British trade and commerce in the Americas.

If Captain Woodes Rogers had never written up his voyage, he would still be an interesting character to the historian and the literateur, for it was he who rescued Alexander Selkirk, better known as Robinson Crusoe, from the Island of Juan Fernández in the winter of 1708–1709. Rogers was in command of a privateering expedition sent to the South Sea by "divers merchants of Bristol." From Juan Fernández the small, ill-rigged squadron made its way up the coast of Peru to California, thence to Guam and Batavia, around the Cape of Good Hope, and back to England. In his *Voyage* Rogers told an interesting tale of success and defeat incurred during the course of the expedition.[38] But he did more than that. Though he little more than touched at the various coastlands, in his published account of the voyage Rogers treated of the various countries in considerable detail. For his authorities on matters of which he himself was ignorant, he relied heavily on several Jesuit writers.

It is to be noted that Rogers was primarily interested in trade. Considering the backing he got from the Merchants of Bristol, this is rather to be expected. Hence no one is surprised to hear him say of his account: "I have confin'd myself to those parts which are most likely to be frequented for Trade, and quoted my Authors from whom I had the Collections; which I did not insert at random, but when I found them to agree with the Relations of those who

[38] Captain Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, London, 1712.

had been in the places, or with the Accounts of the Natives, with whom I had opportunities to converse."[39]

Rogers devotes pages 340 to 356 of his work to a description of Chile. He starts this selection with a quotation from Ovalle, and then adds: "I come now to give a brief view of what Ovalle, a Native, says to it in general."[40] From here on to page 356 it is for all intents and purposes Ovalle who speaks. At times the father is followed very closely. A comparison of texts shows that it was Churchill's translation that was used. Rogers takes from Ovalle matter describing the mines, the gold, silver, lead, quicksilver, the lumber, grains, fruit, the climate, rivers, etc., of Chile. Furthermore he takes care to add: "So that according to *Ovalle,* Merchants may trade from hence to other parts in the *South Sea,* and especially to Lima, from 100 to 200 *per cent.* Profit, of which I have also been informed by our Prisoners."[41] Ovalle, incidentally, is also used for information on the Rio de la Plata.[42]

In addition to Ovalle, Father Sepp is cited concerning the Uruguay River. Indeed, in Rogers' "Account of the River La Plata," Sepp is constantly referred to from pages 75 to 92. It is also evident from matter contained in pages 70 to 73 that the Captain used Acuña, or Acugna as he spells the name. He also makes mention of a map of the Maranon River ingraved by the Jesuits at Quito.[43] More interesting still, del Techo, after being cited right down the page is called "Our Author."[44] Further importance is to be attached to Rogers' remark that: "The Curious who would know more of the Manners of the Natives, or the History and particular Product of this large Country, may find it in *Gemelli,* Father *Sepp,* and Father *Teche;* but this is enough for my purpose, to show that a vast Field of Trade may be open'd here, and how dangerous it may prove to all *Europe,* if the House of *Bourbon* continue possess'd of that Trade.[45] Can there be any doubt that Rogers used information here from Jesuit writers to further British trade?

Emanuel Bowen, who called his work *A Complete System of Geography,* and referred to it as a "universal Map of Commerce"

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39 *Ibid.,* Introduction, xvi.
40 *Ibid.,* 341.
41 *Ibid.,* 344.
42 *Ibid.,* 74.
43 *Ibid.,* 72. Edward Cook was a first lieutenant in Roger's expedition, serving aboard the *Duchess.* His account of the voyage, published in 1712, contained Father Fritz's map referred to here by Rogers.
44 *Ibid.,* 98.
45 *Ibid.,* 92.

for the trader, affords another good example of the use of missionary writers.[46] Bowen treats of Hispanic America in the second volume of his work from pages 538 to 620. Throughout these pages one finds mentioned Fathers Acosta, Acuña, Ovalle, del Techo, Sepp, Neyel, Kino, Picolo and Fritz. Frequent mention is made of the *Lettres Édifiantes* to which some of the men just mentioned were important contributers.

To proceed in orderly fashion it may be well here to travel with Bowen as he moves through the Americas from one country to another. The first of these touched on in the book is Paraguay. Bowen mentions that his chief source of information has been Father Techo, but that he also consulted De Laet, Herrera, Sanson, Frézier, Rogers, La Mortinière and, more particularly, Sepp, Labat and Feuillée.[47] Judging from the amount of matter Bowen got from Father Sepp, he might have included his name with that of del Techo in the first place. From pages 538 to 546 Sepp is referred to constantly. Bowen finds interest in Sepp's saying that in Paraguay "Silver was there cheaper than Iron, and a common Twopenny Knife would fetch a Crown, a Two shilling Hat ten or twelve Crowns, a Gun of ten or twelve Shillings thirty Crowns. ."[48] Sepp is quoted on the extent of Paraguay and on the large number of horses and mules to be had there. Mention is also made of his description of the cataract of the Uruguay and its obstructing the Spanish trade with the Indians.[49]

When Bowen comes to speak of "Terra Magellanica," as he calls the country to the south, it is evident that Ovalle and del Techo were much consulted. Here, as elsewhere, he seems at times to have used one or other of the fathers as he was quoted by somebody else. For example he refers to "Father *Alonzo Ovaglie,* or *Ovalle,* as Captain Rogers calls him."[50] Ovalle is so constantly cited when Bowen writes about Chili from pages 551 to 563 that one gets the impression that the *Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chili* lay open at his side.

Arriving in Peru, Bowen mentions that the early history of that country is quite mixed up, due in part to the faulty methods of the Indians in keeping their records, in part to the "romancing" of the Spaniards. However, he continues, that the reader may be

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46 Emanuel Bowen, *A Complete System of Geography,* 2 vols., London, 1747.
47 *Ibid.,* II, 547, Col. 2.
48 *Ibid.,* II, 540, Col. 1.
49 *Ibid.,* II, 538–540.
50 *Ibid.,* II, 548.

satisfied, "we shall give him a short Extract of what one of the best *Spanish* Writers acquaints us with; I mean *Acosta,* a learned and judicious Man, who became acquainted upon the Spot with the History he has given us; to which we shall add a few Particulars from other Writers of the best Note."[51] However it is not merely on the ancient history of Peru that Acosta is used. It seems to have been impossible for the Average English writer to read the father's account without including what he had to say of the fabulous mines of Potesí! Furthermore, Acosta comes in for his share of reference when Bowen writes of New Spain. Citing the father constantly throughout the seventeen double-columned pages that deal with this topic, Bowen shows that he really believed that it was Acosta who gave "the best Account of New Spain, in that called his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies.*"[52]

Writing about "New Mexico," Bowen uses "*Gemelli,* the Popish Missionary, whom we have often quoted." In addition to Gemelli Father Kino or "Caino," is referred to in connection with his explorations in Lower California.[53] At the same time Bowen states that: "To Father *Caino's* Account, we shall add the following Extract of the Report of the State of the *Spanish* Missions, settled by the Jesuits in California, as it was presented by Father Picolo, one of the first Founders of the Mission, to the Royal Council at *Guadalaxara* in Mexico, in February 1702.[54]

Perhaps greater details by way of more frequent excerpts might have been given here to show more precisely the nature of the items borrowed from Jesuit writers. However, such may readily be had by consulting the *Geography* itself. What is important is that Bowen wrote his "universal Map of Commerce" largely for merchants, and that he drew every manner of information from the Jesuits in the process.

Travel writers and publishers of the last decades of the century seem to have been no different in general from those of the first. Consequently, with a view to avoiding needless repetition, but one of them will be considered here, namely Alexander Dalrymple. According to Cox, Dalrymple published his *Historical Collection* as an additional argument for the great benefits to be derived from the South Sea trade.[55] How true this is may be

51 *Ibid.*, II, 564, Col. 1.
52 *Ibid.*, II, 600, Col. 2.
53 *Ibid.*, II, 619, Col. 1.
54 *Ibid.*, II, 619, Col. 2.
55 Cox, *Reference Guide*, I, 19.

gained from what follows. Indeed, even in the dedication, the editor presents his work: "Not to Him who Discovered scarcely anything but Patagonians. Not to Him who From 20° South Latitude, Thinking it *impossible* to go On Discovery, into 30° South. Determined to come Home round the World. . . . But to the Man who . . . shall *persist* through *every* Obstacle, and . . . Succeed in establishing Intercourse with a Southern Continent."[56] What Dalrymple is especially anxious for is that populous lands be discovered in the South Seas, lands which have had no intercourse with Europe. These should not be conquered, for that is the mistake which the Spaniards made in the case of Mexico and Peru. Rather, the friendship of such peoples as are found should be cultivated with a view to trade, which would redound to the mutual benefit of all concerned.[57]

This last point is interesting. Friendship could only come with knowledge of the customs, habits, and needs of the natives. Furthermore, if it was to be maintained, a thorough understanding of their temperment was imperative. One can see why it was not the anthropologists alone who were interested in the numerous "moral histories" of the Indies written by Acosta, Ovalle, Del Techo, Clavigero, and others, which treated specifically and in great detail of these very matters. Indeed, the very eagerness with which the writers and publishers of travel literature grabbed the writings of even the hated Jesuits such as the four just mentioned, to say nothing of many others, is only another indication of the determination to use any means provided it be to the furtherance of British trade and commerce.

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[56] Alexander Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, 2 vols., London, 1770–1771, Dedication.

[57] *Ibid.*, Introduction, I, xxvii-xxviii.

The Religion of Bolívar

I. The Problem

A niche in the hall of historical fame awaits the scholar who produces a definitive life of Bolívar—Simón José Antonio de la Santisima Trinidad Bolívar. This statement has been made often before and it will very probably be true a hundred years from now. Still, like many writers in the past a greater number of people will in the future take up their pens to have their say about Bolívar, some inspired by the drama of his life, some urged by the research instinct to clarify at least one phase of achievement, some goaded to an interpretation of his actions in the light of their particular professions. Each has come to take or will take a stand for or against the Liberator and in general to prove his point in an article or book, while only a few scholars have attempted a fair appraisal of the highly controversial words and deeds of Bolívar.

It seems to be an increasingly impossible task to be objective and definitive about the lives of any Latin American dictator. The task is trebly difficult in the case of the pioneer dictator, Bolívar, the paragon for scores of Latin American rulers who have "regenerated" their respective nations since independence. Bolívar either was by nature a pattern of mind and action for future leaders or he consciously set himself to establishing a pattern. The principles which guided him have persisted in various degrees for well over a hundred years, quite to the ruination of democracy. But who is to call into question the deeds of the great Liberator?

The essence of the Bolivarian revolt seems to lie in the complete break with all known European and American rules of conduct, political, economic, social and religious. The failure of Bolívar lay in his inability to establish a new and suitable code of life for the republics of his liberation. This inability stems from his character, his standards of thought and action. It was hardly to be expected that one following no written or traditional code of laws, but rather flexible principles, could communicate to posterity more than he possessed. No one will deny that the Bolivarian posterity made ample use of flexible principles in government, and so negated all constitutional progress.

It has therefore been possible to render judgment on Bolívar and his achievement according to the manner in which he conformed

or did not conform to any one of the codes of government of his times, by the code of absolutism, of parliamentarianism, by the code of the French Revolution or of Napoleon, or by the new North American standards of democracy. None of these did he accept, and adherents of no one of these forms would accept Bolívar. He favored parts and repudiated parts of every known governmental process from the age of Pericles. He did not recognize that each system was a body of laws, while his own plan was a conglomeration, chiefly, it may be added, of opinions, of which some were very sound. If judged by the flexible set of standards upon which he acted in military and governmental affairs he would stand condemned for inconsistency, even as he had condemned himself by his final despair over what he had wrought. In the presence of these many norms for reaching a verdict about Bolívar there is no wonder about the number of verdicts reached.

Your definitive biographer will be confronted by a huge and delicate task. Taking Bolívar's letters and pronouncements he will have no way of knowing if Bolívar meant what he said, if he meant all or part of what he said, if he spoke for the moment or from solid and persistent conviction, or if his words were inspired by the moment's emotion. The biographer will forever attempt to sift bombast from sincerity, truth from balderdash, sage prophecy from wishful guessing. The scholar cannot longer go on the frayed assumption that Bolívar was a great liberator, therefore everything he did and said was great. In like manner the scholar must test again the documents left by Bolívar's associates and contemporaries, where he will find the same emotionalism and self-interest depicting the Liberator as a hero, a Solon, a deity, or as an enemy, a common dictator, a traitor. Historians and journalists of the early republican period must be scrutinized as to their veracity, suspicion and bias. Perhaps nothing more difficult to assess in all the literature about Bolívar is the welter of patriotic and good-neighborly glorifications appearing in the past fifty years. By utilizing fact, fiction, legend, tradition, interpretation, and select passages of his writings a host of writers has produced the very untrustworthy image of a magnificent Bolívar, despite the sober works of such historians as Professors N. A. N. Cleven, W. S. Robertson, Mary Watters, Carlos Pereyra, Pedro Leturia, and a few others.[1]

[1] It will serve no purpose to present in this article an evaluation of each of the writers who have contributed to the list of works on Bolívar. The list would now run to more than two printed volumes. In less than the last twenty years five complete bibliographies have been compiled and are printed or typed. Other volumes contain more general bibliographies.

To illustrate the general problem of painting a true picture of Bolívar we may consider the particular problem of his religion or spiritual life. Egged on by a generation of college students who have read to their befuddlement about the hero of South American independence it has finally become incumbent upon this writer to set down in print an opinion on the question: Was Bolívar a Catholic? For a score of years students have asked and have been annoyed by the professorial questions returned to them. Do you mean: What was his official attitude toward the official Church or his personal attitude toward the Church? Or his attitude toward churchmen—the particular pope and the particular bishops? Or his attitude toward religion? Was he anti-religious, anti-Catholic, anti-clerical? The students waive the qualifications and persist in their query to find out simply if Bolívar practiced the Catholic religion and followed Christian principles in his personal and official relations with his fellowmen, lay and cleric. The question is fundamental to the study of Bolívar's character.

Here in religious matters we have a very ancient body of laws by which all men may be judged and by which in the Catholic belief all men will be judged—the Ten Commandments. Besides these there are for Catholics the counsels, precepts and dogmas of the Church. Where the issue is a man's internal motives, or, his interior concept of the rightness or wrongness of an action, it is not within our province to sit in judgment. However the exterior acts or the writings of an individual can be classified according to laws as objectively right or wrong, moral or immoral or amoral, ethical or unethical, and this apart from the subjective element.

Once Bolívar had attained to the stature of a military genius who had cracked the power of Spain, his idolizers ransacked his past for details of his life. Around a few known facts they have built a story of his childhood and adolescence that would befit so great a man. We might glance at these early years and their influences to discover what part his training played in the formation of his religious principles and his character.

Nearly a hundred contain documents necessary for the coverage of the age of Bolívar. Items on Bolívar and his times, if published now, will run to about three volumes. Both the published documents and the writings are badly in need of scholarly criticism and editing, except for what has been accomplished more recently by those trained in research techniques. Checking for instance the most widely known set, the thirty-two volume *Memorias del General O'Leary*, is a task sufficient to make one shudder. The very physical bulk of the Bolívar bibliography conspires to make him appear a gigantic figure.

II. The First Fifteen Years

His family tree has been diligently traced and his ancestors back to the Visigoths are of academic interest, except for a great-great grandmother, whose bar sinister might never have been brought into print if her great-great grandson had not emerged in glory. His forebears in the Caribbean, long before making Venezuela their home, appear to have been financially comfortable colonials of aristocratic tastes and probably of aristocratic descent. They were trusted by the government and were Catholic in faith. This they bequeathed through generations along with, though we would be hard to put to prove it, the do or die, non-compromising spirit of the Conquest. After about two hundred years in the New World, the Bolívar line produced a revolutionary against the ancestral Spanish customs.

Simón was born on July 24, 1783, the fourth and last child of Don Juan Vicente Bolívar y Ponte and Maria de la Concepción Palacios y Blanco.[2] To the mind of some the father, a colonel in the militia, ranchman, and mine owner, was a good Catholic while to others he was "broad-minded" and even revolutionary in thought. A few scraps of evidence give rise to the latter opinion,[3] but there is no gauge for registering the height of his Catholicity or of his rebellious attitude. He had married Maria when she was fourteen to the day and he was forty-six. Ten years later they begot Simón. No signs or portents heralded his birth. Nor are any recorded for his baptism in the Catholic Church on July 30. What influence the disparity of ages between his father and mother may have had upon Simón's future is open to conjecture.

Descriptions and pictures of the house in which the baby passed his infancy have been made available. Many pages have been written about his relatives, about the colonial scene, about the ferment of ideas in Europe and America, about the savants of Caracas, their discussions of the revolutionary ideas, about the religious and educational circumstances of Caracus. All this laudable research occasioned much later by Simón reveals nothing about his babyhood. Thirty-two years later he mentions gratefully the first influence after his birth. Then from Cuzco on July 10, 1825, he wrote to his sister Antonia concerning his Negro nurse, Hipólita. "I send to

[2] These simple biographical data and the chronology following do not seem to call for the customary footnote references, and this writer does not wish to point out all the inaccuracies of many authors.

[3] William Spence Robertson, *Life of Miranda,* Chapel Hill, 1929, I, 28–29.

you a letter from my mother, Hipólita, in order that you will give her all that she wants; so that you do for her as though she were your own mother, her milk has nourished my life, and I have known no other parent [padre] than her."[4] It is supposed from this passage that servants trained the children in the large Bolívar home as they did in many Creole families. At least, Simón seems always to have felt deeply for the enslaved Negroes and never to have expressed racial antipathy for the freedmen, a solid Christian principle.

Simón apparently had no recollection of his father, who lived less than three years after Simón's arrival. Since during the next six years there was no reason to suppose that a future military genius was at play about the house, all bright sayings and all descriptions of his boyhood training were left unwritten. They had to be recalled years afterward by observers whose memories were stretched to the limit, and who were influenced to an indeterminable extent by the renown of the Liberator.

The Bolívar home was completely broken with the death of the mother when Simón was nine. They say it was of tuberculosis. Realized or unrealized the loss to the children of a mother's watchful influence was tragic. The children were divided. The orphaned Simón went under the guardianship of his uncle, Esteban Palacios. From then on, with a share in the family fortune of about 500,000 pesos, he was without the bridle of any particular authority. What influence his mother, ill and burdened with the care of the estates, may have had on his tender years is not clear. He had vague recollections of her and on the very day on which he called Hipólita his only parent he wrote to his Uncle Esteban who had returned impoverished from a long absence in Spain:

My dear uncle Esteban and good godfather:

With what joy for me were you resurrected yesterday! Yesterday I learned that you were alive and were living in our beloved fatherland. How many memories flocked to my mind in an instance! My mother, my good mother, so much the likeness of you, arose from the tomb and was before me. My most tender childhood, the confirmation and my godfather were

[4] Vicente Lecuna, Ed., *Cartas del Libertador*, Caracus, 1929–1930, (10 volumes), and New York, 1948, (3 volumes), V, 19. For the most recent translation of much of this set see *Selected Writings of Bolívar*, Compiled by Vicente Lecuna, Edited by Harold A. Bierck, Jr., Translated by Lewis Bertrand, Two Volumes, Published by Banco de Venezuela, New York, N. Y., 1951. The letter referred to here is omitted from this latter selection of documents. These two sets will be cited hereafter as *Cartas del Libertador* and *Selected Writings* respectively.

converged to remind me that you were my second father. All my uncles, my brother and sisters, my grandfather, my childhood games, the rewards which you gave me when I was good . . . all thronged in to bring back my earliest emotions . . . the effusion of most tender feelings. . . .[5]

These expressions and his earlier letters reveal a filial devotion to members of his family and show him in accord with the spirit of the fourth commandment of the decalogue, at least when he was thirty-two years old. Since he did not write letters nor have any "Boswell" O'Leary during his first nine years there is no way of proving that he was or was not imbued with Catholicism during that formative period. Long afterwards he insisted that children should, even by law, be made to study their catechism and moral principles. One omission is of considerable significance. Simón has nothing to recall about an occasion memorable to all Catholics, good, bad, and indifferent, namely, his first communion day.

His godfather Esteban was an accountant who, according to the Bolívar of 1825, was "admirable and very honest," had traveled, had sound judgment, but had lost his fortune.[6] Simón was not much in contact with him through forty years, and his influence can be classified as benign rather than character forming. Family loyalty or sentiment prompted Bolívar to instruct Santander to pay Esteban five thousand pesos and to find him some suitable position. Though this benefice cost Bolívar dearly owing to his very shrunken purse he felt that he owed it to his uncle for whom he claimed to have much affection. Esteban apparently was not up to the task of managing the family estates; for this the legal mind of José Saenz was employed, the same who later recalled many anecdotes about the spoiled child, Simoncito.

Who else could have been in a position to teach Simón principles of religion, or in fact any worthwhile principles before he struck out for himself at fifteen years of age? The only record of any instruction goes into the broad and indefinite category of "private tutoring," informal, elastic hours, far less confining than the classrooms of the old college. Unmentioned by Bolívar, a Father Negrete or Negrette may be the one who taught him his prayers. Father Pedro Palacios y Sojo, another maternal uncle, could by his

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[5] *Cartas del Libertador*, V, 20; *Selected Writings*, II, 514, translates this letter into beautiful English, and adds considerably to the style of Bolívar, and in the last sentence rounds out what Bolívar probably intended to write.

[6] *Cartas del Libertador*, V, 29.

calling have given some religious instruction, but he was more interested in music. He is credited with introducing that fine art to Caracas in the form of the first wind instruments, long before Simón was born.[7] Father Pedro is far more famous for having received the first letters of Simón, from Mexico and Spain.[8] In the third of these Simón thanks his Uncle Pedro for getting his Uncle Estaban out of a jailing occasioned by a financial lawsuit.

In these letters to a priest one might expect to find indications of religious beliefs and expressions of piety, even though Father Pedro seems to have been more devoted to other affairs than his pastoral duties. Simón says nothing about the sacraments of penance or the Eucharist or of attending to his duties in their respect. True, the frequentation of these sacraments by the laity was not then nearly as common as it is now, and one can hardly expect a busy boy of that time to write much about his interior concerns.[9] No one can prove what he thought during his early years about the practice of religion, but surely in the many trying circumstances of his life one would expect him to mention sometime the Madre de Dios, which he does not. However, an eighteen year old Simón gave reason to suppose that he thought along fundamental Catholic lines. He told his Uncle Pedro that he knew of no one who was more interested in the cause of the poor and miserable than he, in spite of his lack of funds. "My prayers are few, and of little help for their subject, but none the less I shall not stop applying all of them for the happy outcome of the zealous interest which you have had in this affair." Simón went on to express sorrow over the death of his uncle's majordomo and he consoled Father Pedro with the words: "In fine, God is the author of all our successes,

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[7] John E. Baur, "Venezuelan Education During Liberation," MID-AMERICA, XXXIII (April, 1951), 105. This article contains much factual data on the state of education in Venezuela and it reveals that Bolívar could have obtained a far better training than he actually chose to get.

[8] See *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 1–7.

[9] William Spence Robertson, *The Rise of the Spanish-American Republics As Told in the Lives of their Liberators*, New York and London, 1932, 218, has this to say about Simón's baptismal names, Simón José Antonio de la Santisima Trinidad. "The child probably received the baptismal name 'de la Santisima Trinidad' because his parents were accustomed to worship in a chapel of Caracas which a member of the Bolívar family had dedicated to the worship of the Holy Trinity,—a cult which Simón supported throughout his life." Dr. Robertson's terminology is quite excusable, but it is misleading to non-Catholics. The better reading would be: " . . . which a member of the Bolívar family had had dedicated to the Holy Trinity,—a devotion which Simón practiced throughout his life." However, I do not find any reason for saying that Simón practiced any devotion either to his patron saints or the Trinity.

so everything should be for our good. This reflection is our consolation when we are in affliction and so it is necessary that you do not now forget it."[10] Nobody can complain about a want of Christianity in these sentences, rare though they be in Simón's writings.

Writing from Arequipa to Vice President Santander on May 20, 1825, Bolívar was very angry with M. de Mollien, who had made some slurring comments in the *Morning Chronicle* about his lack of education.[11] The Liberator called the remarks unjust, saying "it is not true that my education was badly neglected, since my mother and family made every possible effort in order that I might have proper instruction." It would have been far truer to have said that all efforts were made to put Simón in the proximate occasion of an education and it would have been far more to the point to have indicated the type of education. An obviously apologetic Bolívar then called the roll of his teachers and listed his studies, thus endearing himself to a host of future students of his life, especially educators of the Dewey tenets.

Among these several molders of his mind he mentions Father Francisco de Andujar, a Capuchin. "Father Andujar, of whom the Baron von Humboldt had a high opinion, created an academy of mathematics especially for me." The fact is that Andujar began to teach Simón, his brother, and a few other boys some mathematics in the house of Simón's grandfather in June, 1798. This was a step in Andujar's program of obtaining a donation toward establishing a school of sciences and mathematics. The classes soon dissolved, but the results have been far-reaching in the field of educational panegyrics. Caracas is now credited with one "academy of mathematics," one school of science, one advanced scientific thinker, praise from the great Von Humboldt, and a Simón with a scientific bent. Yet, as will become clear, the exactness in thinking, promised to students who study sciences and mathematics, was not the outcome of Simón's brief dabbling in these precise disciplines. Neither Andujar's obvious hints nor Rodríguez's pestering could inspire the youthful Simón to set aside part of his fortune as a foundation for scientific investigation and instruments.

Continuing his defense of his education Bolívar remembered two of "the foremost teachers" of his country, Andrés Bello and Simón Carreño, *alias* Simón Rodríguez,, *alias* Robinson. Now, An-

10 *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 7.
11 *Ibid.*, IV, 337; *Selected Writings*, II, 500--502.

drés was just a year and eight months older than his pupil, whom he tried to teach composition and geography. Both were of high school age, consequently, merely because both later became famous, it is rather inane to attribute any great influence on Bolivar's character to Bello. Their later correspondence merely indicates an agreement between the two on some important points of policy.

But this Rodríguez was an influence. He was about twelve years older than Bolívar in years, though far older in the ways of the world. He was a clerk or amanuensis for Simón's grandfather Palacios. If he taught Simón reading and writing in the years when such teaching usually takes place, Rodríguez's reputed wisdom and teaching ability was that of a college freshman or sophomore of our days. Now the placing and development of any twenty year old prospect for a college degree is a problem for educators in these our days of curricular dietetics and therapeutics. Rodríguez *with* such aids would be a doubtful candidate for college, let alone for any tutorial task; *without* any previous direction, without even a fair schooling, without training, in a backward colony one hundred and fifty years ago, he was definitely not a leading scholar or tutor or molder of youth. What smattering of knowledge he enjoyed had been gained by reading the French rationalists and French Revolution writers and hearing the new thought discussed by the local sages.

Nobody attributes a set of principles to Simón Rodríguez. He was no Mr. Chips. He apparently had no standards of morality or ethics, but followed his whims of the moment or those of his charge. He has been called a roustabout, a madman, an idiot, a fop, a roué, a gadabout, and was accused of immorality, amorality, and the lesser faults of weak characters. He contributed nothing to the progress of the society by whose bounty he remained a parasite.[12] He would have been well lost to history if Bolívar had not become great and in a moment of elation written him a famous letter.

There is perhaps no better illustration of the work before the definitive biographer of Bolívar than this letter of January 19, 1824, to Don Simón Rodríguez. It may well be one of the reasons why the Liberator did not wish Santander to publish his correspondence at the time when hero worshippers in Colombia were avid for news of Bolívar and his warfare far to the south and when adula-

[12] The opinions of Rodríguez are as abundant as the writers on Bolívar. They vary only in accidentals and abound in surmises and interpretations.

tion of him was high. The letter has been used often, and misused as often, in that only select passages have been quoted to illustrate one or other point. No one seems to have taken it apart to see of what stuff it was made.

To señor don Simón Rodríguez.

Oh my Master! Oh my friend! Oh my Robinson, you in Colombia! You in Bogotá, and nothing have you told me, nothing have you written. Without doubt you are the most extraordinary man in the world; you may merit other epithets [?] but I do not wish to give them so as not to be discourteous in saluting a guest who comes from the Old World to visit the new; yes, to visit his fatherland, which he now does not know, which he has forgotten, not in his heart but in his memory. No one more than I knows that you cherish our adored Colombia. Do you remember when we went together to Monte Sacro in Rome to swear on that sacred ground the liberty of the fatherland? Certainly you have not forgotten that day of eternal glory for us, a day that anticipated, so to speak, a prophetic oath to the same hope which we could not have.

You, Master mine, how closely must you have watched me though situated at so remote a distance. With what eagerness you must have followed my steps, those steps directed very foreknowingly by you yourself. You formed my heart for liberty, for justice, for greatness, for beauty. I have followed the path which you marked out for me. You were my pilot though sitting on some shore of Europe. Nor can you imagine how deeply carved in my heart are the lessons which you have taught me; nor have I ever been able to blot out even a comma of the great maxims which you have given me. Ever present in my mind's eye I have followed them as infallible guides. In fine, you have seen my conduct; you have seen my written thoughts, my soul painted on paper, and you could not but say to yourself: all that is mine, I sowed this plant, I watered it, I strengthened its weakness, now robust, strong and fruitful, here are its fruits; they are mine, I go to enjoy them in the garden which I planted; I go to enjoy the shade of its friendly branches, for my right is imprescriptible, exclusive of all.

Yes, my beloved friend, you are with us; a thousand times blessed the day on which you trod the shores of Colombia. One more wise man, one more just man, adorns the brow of the proud head of Colombia. I am desperate to know your plans and what destination you have; above all my impatience is fatal not being able to clasp you in my arms; now that I cannot fly to you, come quickly to me; you will lose nothing; you will behold with awe the immense fatherland which you have, carved in the rock from despotism by the victorious swords of the liberators, brothers of yours. No, you will never be filled with the sight of the scenes, of the colossi, of the treasures, of the secrets, of the prodigies which this superb Colombia embraces and contains. Come to Chimborazo; profane with your daring foot the stairway of the titans, the crown of the earth, the impregnable battlement of the new Universe. From this great height you will have a vista; and there viewing the heavens and the earth, admiring the grandeur of the earthly creation you will say: two eternities

are spread before me: the past and the future; this throne of nature, identical with its author, will be as enduring, indestructible and eternal as the Father of the Universe.

From what other place indeed could you say as much and as proudly? Friend of nature, come to look into its age, its life, its primative essence; you have not seen in that weary old world more than the relics and rubbish of the provident Mother Earth: there she is bent with the weight of years, of infirmities and of the pestiferous breath of men; here she is maiden, immaculate, beautiful, adorned by the very hand of the Creator. No, the profane touch of man has in no wise withered her divine attractions, her marvelous graces, her chaste virtues.

Friend, if such irresistible attractions do not drive you to a speedy flight to me, I shall have recourse to a stronger appeal: I invoke friendship.

Present this letter to the Vice President, ask him for money in my name, and come to join me.[13]

Just what can be said about such a letter? What kind of character does it reveal? Is it to be taken seriously in its entirety or only in part? The man writing it, we recall, is forty years old, yet much of the letter is childish. It is well enough to explain or excuse the effort by calling it "typically Latin," effusive, a fine sample of Bolívar's expansive soul, or a notable instance of his emotional stress or unbounded elation. On the other hand one could quite as easily say that the writer was ill with a fever or in his cups or effected by a high altitude. Consequently, anyone may interpret its meaning to suit himself, and therefore it reveals a lack of straightforward, honest expression.

The first paragraph, supposing the amanuensis has not thrown in the confusing words, is practically incoherent. Rodríguez is at once a guest and a Colombian patriot; he merits epithets, meaning praises probably, but such would be discourteous; he has forgotten Colombia, according to one translator, not only in his heart but in his memory, but still cherishes it. And confusion reigns in the last

[13] *Cartas del Libertador*, IV, 32–34; *Selected Writings*, II, 424–425; the latter translation is far more polished than that presented here. This opinion of Rodríguez and his influence may be compared with that given twenty years previously in the much disputed "Letter attributed to Bolívar," in *Cartas de Libertador* I, 12–15. If this is to be believed Rodríguez was attempting to dissuade Bolívar from his frivolous ways of life and wanted him to invest his money in apparatus for sciences. Bolívar remarks about the very persuasive Rodríguez using most absurd sophisms for arguments. He calls him "this capricious man, without order in his own affairs, who involved himself with everybody and paid nobody, many times reduced to wanting the necessaries of life; this man had charge of the fortune which my father left me . . . and augmented it by a third." Rodríguez did not approve of Simón's use of his fortune. But, according to the letter, all that was over for Simón; he was leaving Rodríguez for Paris. How much of this one may believe is not certain.

sentence. If Rodríguez could understand what Bolívar intended, they were indeed kindred souls. The next paragraphs are a noteworthy example of self-adulation and grandiose flourish, an apostrophe like an exercise in rhetoric. If taken at their face value they reveal a supreme vanity, as though the writer were merely using this letter form as a vehicle for praising his achievement. Is it poetic fancy, or is Simón expressing his sense of humor? Sane or nonsane the letter has established Rodríguez as a philosopher and tutor of the great Bolívar.

Bolívar himself has about the best characterization of his own thinking and writing. De Mollien had said that he was diffuse. "He could better say that I am not correct, since actually I am not because I am impetuous, careless, and impatient: I do not know how an impatient and impetuous man can be wordy. I multiply many ideas in very few words, though without order or agreement [coherence.]"[14] There is no doubt about his verbosity nor about his impressionistic thinking, his inability to clarify his ideas, or, to put it briefly, his undisciplined habits of mind.

To return to the character building days, we find writers invariably mentioning Simón as developing into some say a headstrong, spoiled, sensitive, uncontrolable lad, while others say a strong-willed, vigorous, independent thinker. Rodríguez was not of a character to gainsay his charge in anything, to the jeopardy of his tutorial fee, and apparently let the boy have his way. Bolívar in the above mentioned defence of his early education says that when he was very young, perhaps too young he was given lessons in the arts of fencing, dancing, and horsemanship, and there is no doubt about his proficiency in these. When he was fourteen he had some training as a cadet in the militia, the power and might of which can best be estimated by the fact that in a year young Bolívar, three weeks before he was fifteen, was made an ensign.[15]

In summary of his first fifteen years educational progress there is very little to say. He learned his prayers, learned a large, studied handwriting, made mistakes in spelling, grammar, and composition, made ink blots on the paper, and scratched out letters like an average first high student. To say that he had any great knowledge of Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu is to put him beyond his intelligence, but to say that he did not take to the idea of Rousseau's original man and freedom from restraint would prob-

[14] *Ibid.*, IV, 338.

[15] Robertson, *Rise*, 219, says the royal order was issued on July 4, 1798, for the sixth company of the Aragua militia.

ably be wrong. As for his religious practices and moral principles the field of surmise is open, and the probability is that he was no better trained in these respects than he was in other informal studies.

III. European Training

Time came for his Palacios uncles and his legal guardian to see to his future. His Uncle Esteban was in Madrid with court connections and the ambitious Creoles saw opportunities for their wealthy nephew. When he was fifteen years and a half of age he and another Venezuelan, Esteban Escobar, set sail for Spain. The ship left La Guaira on January 19, 1799, and reached Mexico's port of entry, Vera Cruz, on February 2, "thanks to God," he said. The port was blockaded by the British, so Simón journeyed up to Mexico City. There he saw the bishop about some of his Uncle Pedro's business and the viceroy for visas. Later, someone started the legend that he stood before the viceroy and gave him a few ideas on liberalizing the government. Back in Vera Cruz he embarked for Havana and Spain on March 20. He disembarked at Santona in Spain on May 31, 1799. Before he was sixteen he was in his Madrid lodging, the home of Marqués de Ustáriz, a gentleman from Caracas who had become a noble. Apparently his Uncle Esteban had conducted him first to his own lodgings, which were in the house of the Queen's favorite, Manuel Mallo, a notorious South American. If this is true, as O'Leary says, the place was a source of scandal to young Bolívar. The why and when of Esteban's jailing need not concern us.

The second phase of Bolívar's education began with his arrival in Madrid. The facts pertaining to his training are meagre and for want of data writers have digressed into descriptions of the hideous condition of the Spanish court and administration, while their documentary data depends upon what Bolívar wrote or remembered to tell O'Leary many years later. A little reasoning brings out some very cold, hard conclusions. Bolívar for the first time went to school, that is, went to a class for formal instruction. And, contrary to what is often said, here in a hotbed of absolutism, he was not grounded in the revolutionary thought nor did he here get his unassorted lot of political ideas. There is no mention of any religious or moral practices, nor on the other hand of any rebellion against authority in any of its established forms. However, numerous factors were conspiring to aid in the change that was later

to come: his undiciplined mind, his immaturity, the want of anyone to whom he was responsible, the whirl of European life, the nasty conditions of the court, the war times of Napoleon, indifferentism to laws, the social and economic upset, and the rationalist and revolutionary publications. Clear and penetrating thinking was next to impossible in the ferment and the low status of education in Spain was no aid to the development of a rounded character, especially when the highest form of training there, philosophy and law were studiously avoided by Simón.

Here are some cold facts which an educator might wish to consider. Bolívar arrived in Spain on May 31, 1799, at the age of fifteen years and ten months, high school age. On September 30, 1800, he announced to his Uncle Pedro that he was engaged to marry Teresa Toro, so we must assume that his studies suffered a little during his courtship days previous to that time. He was then seventeen years and two months old. Teresa's family then moved two hundred miles north to Bilbao. Bolívar was in Bilbao on August 23 and December 29, 1801, and whether he made two trips or remained the whole of the five months makes little difference, for it was time lost to studies. At the beginning of 1802 he went to Paris, which plainly required some time. On May 26, 1802, he was back in Madrid marrying Teresa. He was then eighteen years and ten months old. He had spent just three years in Spain, before the pair left for Caracas. There on January 22, 1803, Teresa died of yellow fever, when Bolívar was nineteen and a half years old and was finished with his education.

Scanning the records for a sufficient number of credits for possible entry into college, if Bolívar had ever intended such a step, reveals an odd curriculum for the two, at the most, years when he might have been studying. He continued his lessons in fencing, dancing and horsemanship. He added long walks to his physical education program. He went to classes in mathematics in the Academia de Bellas Arts de San Fernando. Though he wrote at the time after a year in Spain that he had only one tutor in foreign languages, the Marqués de Ustáriz, he said in 1825 that Ustáriz directed select masters who tutored him.[16] In 1825 in his apology for his education he told Santander very confidentially, lest Santander think he was badly educated:

> Certainly I did not learn either the philosophy of Aristotle nor the codes of crime and error; but it could be that Mr. de Mollien has not

[16] *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 5, and IV, 337.

studied as much as I Locke, Condillac, Buffon, Dalambert, Helvetius, Montesquieu, Mably, Filangieri, Lalande, Rousseau, Voltaire, Rollin, Berthot and all the classics of antiquity, as well as philosophers, historians, orators and poets; and all the modern classics of Spain, France, Italy and a large part of the English.[17]

Incredible though this statement is, exponents of the Bolívar thesis of greatness not only accept it but embellish it, even to the point of attributing this vast amount of reading to a boy in Caracas who could not write his Spanish well at the age of fifteen. He assuredly could not have completed this reading program in his years in Spain while learning foreign languages and engaging in the various non-academic affairs indicated above and those not indicated—his social life with courtiers and others. The Marqués, it must be remembered, was not a Spanish educator; he was a Venezuelan, and a courtier, and moreover had no great responsibility for Bolívar's training, beyond seeing that he did not violate the court codes of etiquette. Rumor had it, and the bills for clothing for Simón are confirmation, that the young man spent much time with the tailors.

The sum total of Bolívar's formal education to his twentieth birthday was "some classes," (not courses) in mathematics. No more followed in after years.

The sum total of Bolívar's hours under the tutorship of several not highly qualified instructors is open to dispute. There is no record of the time spent nor of the content of the instruction, secular or religious.

The hours spent in private reading during these first twenty years may well be questioned, with respect to the quantity and with respect to the ability of Bolívar to read intelligently. Possibly some of this reading was done and notes taken during this period. More likely the reading was done, if it was done, afterwards. There is no doubt from Bolívar's writings that he quoted the sayings of a number of writers of the past, but this could have been done without his ever having seen copy of their works, since they had been quoted for two centuries in Latin America and in European authors. So also could he have read excerpts in Europe and in Venezuela from the writings of the new, rationalist thinkers whom he cited. In other words, because he was the great Bolívar therefore he must also be a great thinker, and because he was a

[17] *Ibid.*, IV, 338.

great thinker he must have read widely and deeply. The reasoning is fallacious and unsubstantiated.

Bolívar was stunned by the death of his wife. His devotion to her was complete, as is abundantly testified to by his biographers. Her passing was a tragedy in more ways than one. The last of the stabilizing influences in his life was gone. He had just taken up the responsibilities of manhood, had planned a home and heirs to perpetuate his fortune and name. Thenceforward he was homeless, without successors, and ultimately without his fortune.

For reasons best known to himself he settled his financial affairs and departed for Europe in the autumn of 1803. He landed at Cádiz, went to Madrid, Bilbao, and Paris, where he arrived in 1804. From then until his return to Venezuela in February 1807, when he was nearing twenty-four years of age, he created numerous problems for historians. The dispute is concerned with the general question: Was he a rake and spendthrift? Several letters attributed to him and some of his later sayings and remarks to O'Leary give rise to the dispute, and until such time as someone proves these documentary materials to be authentic the arguments must continue. Some will say that he suffered a complete letdown of moral restraints and followed the ways of the prodigal, and others will say that he began to be seriously concerned with his purpose in life, improved himself by reading, discussion, and travel. There is a third possibility, namely that he combined these various aims and activities to suit his own pleasure, making up his own rules as he went along.

The general question incorporates several other particular subjects for dispute, since they arise out of the untrustworthiness of the documents. Chief among these several is the letter "attributed to Bolívar" and written to Madame Dervieu du Villars, familiarly known as Fanny. The best that can be said about this is that if its author was Bolívar he was running a high fever, yet many quote its contents and deduce from its words that Bolívar was a changed man, for the worse. Then there is dispute about his affairs with Rodríguez, financial and gambling, and even about the fact they ever made a vow to liberate their country. Most of his biographers describe Bolívar as handsome, well dressed, and a ladies man. This gives ample opportunity for adding spice to a book and adding to its publisher appeal, but actually there is very little known about the comings and goings of the biographee. Another point in doubt is his adoption of the Napoleanic ideas, or his catching at

least a mild case of megalomania in both its military and political aspects from this supreme egotist.

He is shown in all this as a man of no solid character. Basic to this picture of Simón was his attitude toward religion and ethics. Can it be said that because there is no mention of his religious practice or beliefs he had given up the faith of his forefathers? There is no documentary evidence to prove conclusively what interior convictions he had. Who knew his thoughts at the time? Who can be certain of what was said years later by himself, by O'Leary, old Rodríguez, and other memoir composers? As for judgment of his external actions, there are instances of his disagreement with the thought and practice of Mother Church.

The accusation against him of his cuckolding the oldish husband of Fanny arouses debate. Some deny this affair on the score that she was a cousin of his. Others recalling his later boasts of his European conquests to O'Leary and observing his American amours have no doubt of his guilt. There seems no doubt about his philanderings. Expected and tolerated in a perennially scandalous court society they were nevertheless morally wrong, to the ultimate consequence that the children of the schools of Latin America to this day do not have before them a model of moral sobriety in their Liberator.

It has been positively asserted that Bolívar was a deist. This gratuitous charge, or praise where liberal writers are concerned, stems from several facts and illogical conclusions. Bolívar became a Freemason in Paris, he was republican in opinion, and he used deistic cant in his later writings. Therefore he must have been a deist. Moreover, he is said to have refused to attend the services in the Cathedral of Notre Dame whereat Napoleon, assisted by Pope Pius VII, crowned himself Emperor of the French; and in the following year he refused to kiss the cross on the Pope's sandal.

Bolívar did become a Mason, and, when it suited his purposes rather than because the Catholic Church forbade participation, he repudiated his affiliation.[18] Deism is probably the most vague and most indefinite word in the dictionary. A deist may be one

[18] *Selected Writings*, II, 546. "The Devil take the Masons and all such philosophic charlatans." Thus wrote Bolívar on October 21, 1825, to Santander. Bolívar here explains that the Masons had been favorable to him because he flattered them. At that moment of victory he was at the same time against the "crows" as he called the conservative Catholic priests. More will be said about his affiliation with the lodges later in this paper.

who believes in God, or in a God, or in no God, or in God as he wishes God to be. Anyone may be called a deist, if judged by one or several expressions. But there is no block of evidence proving that Bolívar denied the traditional teaching of the Catholic religion, much as his actions may have violated its code. Certainly, one can scarcely credit a mind as upset and untrained as Bolívar's to have considered long the intricate ramifications of the wide varieties of deistic thought. In the simple sense that he was a Mason, was a freethinker, was opposed to clerical control, and was a law unto himself, he might qualify vaguely as a vague deist.

About this business of Napoleon's in Notre Dame, O'Leary says that Bolívar refused to go to the crowning services; Bolívar says he attended and was thrilled. The solution can be attended to by some other writer. So also, there is much confusion with reference to the story of Simón's meeting with the Pope. The tale is told by O'Leary years after it is supposed to have happened.[19] It would illustrate Bolívar's fearless independence; but it would likewise illustrate his inconsistency and boorishness. The Spanish Ambassador presented Bolívar to Pius VII. In the audience Bolívar refused to kiss the cross on the papal sandal. The Pope then extended his ring, which Bolívar likewise refused, saying (then or later) words to the effect that the Pope holds the symbol of Christianity of no value if he wears it on his sandals while proud princes wear it in their crowns. Why should one in such a frame of mind even bother about an audience with the Pope? Why quibble about the symbol of Christianity in the presence of the Vicar of Christ? Why enlarge the stature of a definitely insignificant young Bolívar at the expense of an important world leader?

Bolívar left Paris, toured France with Rodríguez to Italy in the spring of 1805, and made his famed vow on Monte Aventino on August 15. Then he went to Naples to inspect Vesuvius with Baron von Humboldt and Gay Lussac. The meetings with these savants later were to add much to his intellectual prestige. He left Rodríguez in Italy and returned to Paris. There he heard of the Miranda expedition to liberate Venezuela. At the end of 1806 he sailed for Boston, then continued quickly to New York, Philadelphia and Charleston, which tour gave him later an opportunity to assess the people and constitutional ways of the United States. He was back in Venezuela in February, 1807, five months short of his twenty-fourth birthday anniversary.

[19] Daniel Florencio O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary*, 32 Volumes, Caracas, 1879–1888, I, 23.

What progress had he made in knowledge and wisdom during his four years travel? You have your choice of the disputed opinions. Surely he could not have been gambling and philandering, with some days of illness unaccounted for, and at the same time have done the vast reading attributed to him. Possibly he did have the resolution to liberate his country, either as an idealist or patriot or as an egoist seeking fame. If so the driving force of freedom and fame was not owing to education nor to his vast reading nor to his tutors. The desire for freedom and for fame are rather common human aspirations. Driving force is not common, especially such as Bolívar later exposed. What Bolívar may have acquired in his travels was a confidence in himself, a confidence in himself as a man of destiny, and a spirit that no law should confine him. He may have felt the stirring of that ruthlessness by which he was to attain his goal. This spirit has been otherwise stated as a passionate urging to free his country.

IV. Patriot?

One would be very hard pressed to prove that Bolívar on his return to Venezuela was consumed with a fever to break away from Spain. Nevertheless, this has been written and is commonly supposed to be the case. The promoters of his cause seem to be unaware that for the five years or more after his vow and promise to Fanny the documentary evidence about him is very scant. The three years from February, 1807, to April, 1810, are painful to many unobjective writers, who frequently fill in pages with discussions of the deeds of Miranda, Napoleon, and other important leaders in Europe and in America. But years ago Professor Robertson dated the time at which Bolívar "dedicated himself to the task of liberating his native land from Spanish domination."[20] This was when he realized that Monteverde in violation of the treaty of San Mateo, July 25, 1812, had confiscated his money and estates.

A simple narration of the known facts should prove the background for a character protraiture of Bolívar far different from that painted later. During 1807 he was out in the Valley of Yare managing his estates, as four short letters on financial doings and one on his lawsuit with Briceño testify. Most probably he remained there during the first half of 1808. In the beginning of 1808 Na-

[20] Robertson, *Rise*, 223.

poleon occupied Spain and on May 5, 1808, forced the abdication of Ferdinand VII. News of this reached Venezuela on July 15, with the arrival of Napoleon's agents at La Guayra. The agents after announcing that Joseph Bonaparte was King of Spain slipped away from the port. By September the underground in Spain was organized in favor of Ferdinand VII and its agents were generally received in the Spanish colonies. In October, 1808, Bolívar was in Caracas, for he made out a receipt to his Uncle Pedro, who paid back half of a fifteen hundred peso loan. In November the citizens of Caracas led by Captain-General Juan de las Casas had up a petition to the underground Spanish regency asking it to authorize the Caracas junta as the government in the name of Ferdinand VII with the right to send representatives of the colony to the Spanish anti-Napoleon assembly. Bolívar did not sign this petition. Therefore, it has been guessed, he must have been against Ferdinand VI and the regency and the Spanish cortes. He could not have been absent, of course, or ill, or undecided. The main fear was that Napoleoic troops would soon be in Caracas.

In 1809 he was named Teniente of the Valley of Yare by the Captain-General and took his oath to fulfill the duties of his office, but because he was ill he sent a deputy to the meetings of the cabildo. He wrote a protest on August 1 when his deputy was refused a seat. Not much more is known of Simón's deeds during this year. In 1810 Napoleon's troops enveloped Spain, cutting off the colonies by garrisoning the ports, especially Cádiz. When this bad news reached Caracas and its effects on the trade of the Creole producers became apparent a famous meeting was called. On April 19, with the fear of the arrival of the French over them, the leaders of the Cabildo forced the resignation of the Captain-General and established themselves as the governing body under the title of "The Supreme Committee for the Preservation of the Rights of Ferdinand VII."

This Junta appears now to the Venezuelans to have been a republic, since it provided for free trade, set up administrative officers, and established foreign relations. However, the vast majority of people of the time did not have this concept of a new order come to deliver them. The Junta sent Bolívar, Luis López Méndez and Andrés Bello, secretary, to England where they were in July, 1810. As commissioners they solemnly assured His Britannic Majesty that their government was far from any desire to sever with Spain. "Although independent of the Council of the

Regency [in Spain] Venezuela neither regards herself as less faithful to her Monarch nor less concerned with the favorable outcome of Spain's holy struggle."[21] They wanted from Britain the aid of her fleet as a protection against France and as protection against Venezuelan provinces who were backing the regency; and they wanted trade relations with the British.

The move was somewhat clever; if the British had accepted they would have admitted the existence of the new government, admitted the control of the Caracas Creoles against the claims of the Regency adherents, and would have denied the Council of the Regency in Spain recognition. Wellesley, of course, found it impossible to accede. Venezuelans were definitely not united, and the possibility of a civil war was apparent. Bolívar obtained out of his journey to London from June to his return on December 5 some ideas of the British form of government, about which he talked later as an authority, and some contact with tradesmen. And, by far most important of all, he came to know Miranda and his ideas.

In view of what has been said in the preceding pages of Bolívar's small education this writer would call his meeting with Miranda the turning point of his career. Robertson has pointed out Francisco's influence upon Simón and the manner in which the widely experienced and widely read Miranda took care of the young and incompetent commissioners. "The exile undoubtedly took the impressionable Bolívar to the top of a high mountain and showed him the promised land."[22] We would go beyond this to say that Miranda gave Bolívar nearly all of his revolutionary ideas and principles. By his own captivating manner of talking and by his fund of knowledge he rather than Rodríguez former Bolívar. It could be proved fairly well that Bolívar actually aped the Precursor in his actions, speeches, and political ideas. Bolívar claimed the fruits of Miranda's long planting, took over the torch Miranda had been carrying, and built his fabulous reputation at the expense of all Miranda's repute.

Bolívar took pride in bringing back to Venezuela a man so renounced in Europe as the revolutionary Miranda. Already the Junta had sent out a force to take cities which would not join Caracas, or, to put it in Caracan terms, which were favorable to Spain. The force was almost destroyed at Coro. Miranda came

[21] *Selected Writings*, I, 3.
[22] Robertson, *Life of Miranda*, II, 85, 250.

at a dark moment, and the Junta chose him as general of its troops. This was revolt, since Miranda was proscribed, an enemy of Spain, and republican. It was Miranda who drove the congress to its declaration of independence on July 5, 1811. The day before Bolívar first spoke out to a patriotic society in favor of independence, an address of little more than two hundred words.[23]

It is altogether misleading to bring the names of Miranda and Bolívar together and to make them appear as equals during this period. Generalísimo Miranda was the brain and the inspiring force of the campaign to unify all the provinces of Venezuela. He considered Bolívar a dangerous gamble, "joven peligroso," in the campaign and wished to discharge him from active service.[24] Grudgingly he gave in to the war board when Bolívar protested and without much confidence in Colonel Bolívar assigned him to lead one of the columns attacking Valencia. From Bolívar's very brief military training and untried qualities of leadership it would seem that Miranda was correct, yet he has been upbraided for not recognizing and even thwarting the budding military genius. Miranda directed the attack on Valencia and took the town on August 13, 1811. He cited Bolívar for distinguished service.

Venezuela was a land of chaos during the remainder of 1811. The Caracas patriots could not collect revenues from other provinces and could not train and support an army, consequently the civil war dragged. People were of all shades of political opinion, but were divided into two general groups: those who for their own reasons thought it better to stand by Spain and those who followed Miranda. The former were classified by the latter as royalists, who looked for the protection of their interests to Monteverde. If a vote were taken they would have won the election by a large majority.

On March 6, 1812, the much described earthquake ruined Caracas and four other towns held by the revolutionaries, and left the royalist strongholds practically untouched. Twenty-five to thirty thousand people perished, a third of the number in Caracas. The panic-stricken people prayed and confessed in the ruins and desolation. Not so Bolívar. The story has it that he worked to save those caught in the wrecked buildings, until he reached the plaza.

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[23] *Selected Writings*, I, 5.

[24] Vincente Lecuna, *Crónica Razonada de las Guerras de Bolívar*, New York, 1950, I, xvii. This three volume set, distributed by the Bank of Venezuela, is a noteworthy contribution to the Bolívar library by the great student of Bolívar.

There a friar was preaching from a pile of rubble, exhorting all to repent and proclaiming that the catastrophe was a punishment of God visited upon the city for revolting against the king. Bolívar pushed him aside, spoke forth to calm the multitude, and thundered: "If nature opposes our plans, we will fight against it until it obeys us." It would seem from the various dramatic description that nature had deliberately set a scene of tremendous Greek tragedy proportions so that the hero might speak his part. Writers have smiled at or ridiculed the credulity and fanaticism of the cowering, superstitious, anti-revolutionary populace—that is, writers who were not there experiencing what must have seemed like the end of the world. Perhaps Bolívar was as awe-struck as others,[25] but his panegyrists have done him no permanent good by exploiting his bravado at the expense of the thousands of grief-torn Venezuelans and their beliefs. After all, what did the Caracan leaders have to offer? Why should the people have marched into a future based upon some muddled and untried political theories behind self-appointed leaders whose past records invited no confidence in a better future?

The earthquake ended the republic, the constitution, and the possibility of any successful military operations on the part of the Caracans. The congress soon made Miranda dictator with all powers over the treasury and troops to defend the government. Part of his defense program was to occupy the seaport Puerto Cabello. To this post he sent Bolívar to replace Colonel Ayala. On May 4, 1812, the new Commandment took charge. Monteverde, a former ship captain, moved east from Coro. On July 1 Bolívar was asking help from Miranda against the oncoming force of 2,000 royalists, despite his strongly fortified position. His apologists are extremely hard put to defend his inability to organize his troops. On July 12 the Commandant was back in Caracas writing to Miranda and giving the reasons for his surrender of Puerto Cabello. It was a sad letter.[26]

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[25] *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 32 and *Selected Letters*, I, 15, from O'Leary, XIII, 57. In this letter to the Congress of New Granada, written from Cartagena, November 27, 1812, Bolívar states that the consternation over the terrible event was only secondary among the causes leading to "the annihilation of our liberty and independence." Very culpable political errors committed by the government, which he points out, were the prime cause. What should have been used on the people was force, rather than a mere announcement of the new principles.

[26] It should be read for an understanding of how he excuses himself for the failure and appeals to the sympathy of Miranda. It is in *Selected Writings*, I, 11–12, and *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 24–25; the latter

Bolívar, concerned mostly with himself, his humiliation, and his defense mechanisms, does not seem to have realized the fatal blow which had been administered to Miranda's campaign by his loss of the port. On that same July 12 Miranda called together the National Executive Power to consider the disaster.[27] The port, he said, was lost and there could be no hope of foreign aid. Monteverde had had no arms to prosecute a war, but now he had taken 40,000 pounds of powder and 3,000 muskets and plenty of lead. Miranda suggested an armistice and surrender at the best terms available to avoid bloodshed. All accepted, and so the plans for the treaty of San Mateo went on through the remainder of July. On July 28 the general gave the order to disband all troops. On July 30 he moved to La Guaira to escape on a British ship. On July 31 Monteverde moved into Caracas. At three o'clock the following morning the Bolívar coterie arrested Miranda and turned him and his leaders over to Monteverde. As a result of this action Casas, Peña and Bolívar were not arrested but given passports for foreign countries. Miranda began his prison life which ended with his death, July 14, 1816.

Professor Robertson brands this betrayal of Miranda as a "foul deed" and holds the three men responsible for it.[28] His clear verdict, like his judgment on Miranda, is as objective as possible; well-weighed it must stand, despite the many justifications, excuses, and palliations of the Liberator's unethical conduct. The title Liberator is used advisedly, because justifications began only after he had become prominent and untoward facts such as this called for some clearing of his name.

From the viewpoint of principles we may add to Robertson's remarks. Bolívar saved his own skin at the expense of the liberty and life of his leader; he followed the principle of expediency, as a prophet might have foretold from the story of his training. He is reported to have boasted to his dying day of his feat of arresting a traitor; if this is so, he perpetuated a defamation to his own advantage. He is reported to have been on the point of killing Miranda, when the others interposed; if this is true, he was

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has a second letter written two days later expressing how disgraced but how unblameworthy he feels.

[27] Robertson, *Life of Miranda,* II, 169, but please read from page 164. In these excellent pages of Chapters XXI and XXII the characters of Miranda and Bolívar are delineated and their divergences are shown in their deeds. Miranda was actually trying to avoid fratricidal bloodshed; Bolívar is a convert to the policy of the sword for the dissentients and "might makes right."

[28] *Ibid.,* II, 183.

at heart a murderer, who had made himself the law, the judge, the jury, and the executioner. Even by the rule of caudilloism he violated the prime article of obedience to the leader. As an army man he violated the military code by his plotting and as a subaltern by his deliverance of his general to the enemy. The government to which he adhered still existed, though it was on the run; if he recognized its authority, he is culpable of deliberately betraying it to the enemy; if he did not recognize its existence he had already turned traitor to it. Bolívar's authority within any law was nil; he played along with Casas who had two possible sources of authority to make the arrest, either that conferred by Miranda's republic, or that residing in his office from pre-revolutionary days as granted by Spain. By using either authority the Bolívar coterie obviously became a traitor to the opposite cause. Traitors to Spain, they arrested a traitor to Spain, not to their own party. Therefore, this was indeed a "foul deed" devoid of all principle and unchristian in all its aspects.

V. Military Dictator

The summary of Bolívar's positive achievement at this time, his twenty-ninth birthday, clearly amounts to nothing.

He was now a man without a country, a man outside the law. He was without friends. He soon found that he was without money, and this is a cardinal point. When he arrived in Curaçao on September 7, 1812, he discovered that his baggage was impounded. He wrote two letters to Francisco Iturbe, his royalist go-between in Caracas.[29] These two letters should be read and studied carefully. They are not just requests for funds and a granting of a power of attorney for the management of his estates. They are cries of despair from a youth who always had had money and who without it now began "to regard life with the greatest disgust and horror." He said that he had some friends but their friendship did not extend to lending him money. He feared that all his houses and rents would be confiscated. He debases himself before a royalist—for his money—calling him friend and master and flattering him in no few sentences. He is a victim of circumtances and anything said against him is not to be believed. His conscience is at peace. He is resolute as all men of honor and

[29] *Selected Letters*, I, 12–14.

courage. He asks: "What does it matter if one has or has not the material things of life?" Then he concludes by begging for enough to keep himself alive until the reply comes.

He finally obtained a loan of a thousand pesos in October. Then he learned of the confiscation of his properties in November. It was under these circumstances that he decided to "adopt" New Granada to get the aid necessary to "redeem Venezuela," but, as was stated before, the prime motive appears to have been to redeem his estates. The idea of going to New Granada for the purpose of liberating that area before Venezuela was Miranda's, not Bolívar's. Moreover, it was put into effect first by the Venezuelans who had fled the wrath of Monteverde and made their way to Cartagena. They had already organized several columns of militia totaling nearly a thousand men and were out taking the towns of the province of Cartagena with the intention of reaching Santa Marta, and thus hold both ports of New Granada. After these Venezuelan exiles had joined forces with the Cartagenans Bolívar appeared on the scene.

There is no reason to suppose that leaders of the revolt in Cartagena welcomed Bolívar with open arms, but there are reasons to say the opposite. He did get a small command. Then on November 2, 1812, came word of the signing of Miranda's capitulation and of Monteverde's taking properties of the rebels against the terms of the treaty. Bolívar took pen in hand and under date of November 27, 1812, revealed his ire. He wrote to the distinguished gentlemen of the Congress of New Granada, and signed it as, of all things, "Colonel of the Army and Commandant of Puerto Cabello"!

He explained why Caracas fell. Political errors of the republic were the cause. The Caracans should have attacked the vile city of Coro and forced it into the union rather than try to lead it in a benevolent (and democratic) way into the fold. Here is your dictator mind. So too, men should have been forced into the army. The stupid Spanish were not punished for their atrocious crimes. "And lastly, the religious fanaticism, hypocritically managed by the clergy, was attempting to distort the public spirit to its own views of egoism and party interest, fearing the loss of its dominance over the superstitious people."[30] Then, in the congress there were turbulent spirits seeking control for their own localities. Thus, everybody was to blame except Bolívar, who says that he

[30] *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 33; *Selected Writings*, I, 16.

miraculously escaped from the clutches of raging, beastly, cruel, Spanish tyrants to warn the New Granadans and to implore their aid to vindicate Caracas, etc. The letter is a veiled vindication of Bolívar and an indication to the New Granada congress that a flaming son of liberty was in the land.

Bolívar then amplified this letter and had it printed in pamphlet form to be distributed among the citizens of New Granada.[31] In his pamphlet he inveighs against federalism and argues for a highly centralized government. He begs the Granadans to march into Venezuela before the great influx of Spanish exiles, about to be driven out of Spain, arrives in Caracas. He feared the arrival especially of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, canons, and revolutionary clerics who would come to subvert the new states and bring about a frightful world anarchy. No one can stop them from coming to America, and Napoleon would soon drive them out. Now is the time to raise armies, strengthen the ports, and prevent this disaster. Thousands will join us if we but enter Venezuela, avenge the martyrs, and save especially the deserving people of Caracas. This last sentence had been said years before by Miranda. The sincerity of the pamphlet can well be doubted in view of Bolívar's desire to recover his properties. It is obviously wild and filled with exaggeration, but it probably served the purpose of bringing him before the public as someone of importance. He was using the typical method of politicos to add to his size by attacking the biggest and most important institutions. His broadside against the clergy did him more harm than good, for it placed him in a class with the radicals in the Spanish cortes who were announcing their constitution at the time.

There are a few facts for the years 1813 and 1814 which must be mentioned, principally because they have been so distorted and have been made to redound to the glory of Bolívar. They pertain to his "brilliant" campaign. He was allowed to keep his rank as colonel by the revolutionaries in Cartagena. He had under him an "army" of seventy men as a garrison at Barranca. He was subaltern to Labatut, a French soldier of fortune. His higher superior was Brigadier Manuel del Castillo. Bolívar began to move about taking small town and gathering grain and supplies. Very

[31] *Ibid.*, I, 18–26; *Cartas del Libertador*, 1, 35–46. This Memorial is dated December 15, 1812, but was not printed until 1813. It is the first of Bolívar's long list of pronouncements. What help he had in its composition and in the editorial office is not known. It awaits an objective, critical analysis.

soon Castillo charged him with disobeying orders, and, from the appearance of things, not rendering a full account of materials collected. Thenceforward the two were enemies, and the Granadan congress soon had to divide the command. Bolívar became General of the Northern Army.[32] He now had 488 men under his command.

After adding some important people to his army he began his famous march through villages eastward to Caracas, one "victory" after another to Caracas. He entered the town August 7, 1813, amid noisy acclaim in a carriage drawn by beautiful daughters of Caracas. More important than this as an illustration of his character was his notorious Proclamation of June 15, entitled: SIMON BOLIVAR, Liberator of Venezuela, Brigadier of the Union, General in Chief of the Northern Army, to his fellow-countrymen."[33] In this bombastic outburst he announced his "war to the death" on everybody who did not join and aid his cause. If Spaniards and Canary Islanders remained neutral, they were to be killed. There were no longer two sides to the question, no neutral position. All had to engage actively in the cause.

To those who may still think that Bolívar was a great man it is necessary to point out the similarity between his ideas and those recently condemned in Hitler. Here was a peculiar type of liberation. People were free to act only according to the wishes of the Liberator. Even Bolívar's stout defenders see something wrong in the idea of war to the death. They explain that his program was one of military necessity, forgetting however that the military necessity was designed by Bolívar to establish himself as dictator, which he promptly did. It was this type of mentality that has done irreparable harm to progress in Latin America, just as it did in the times of Bolívar, who himself became a victim at the hands of followers of his thought.

Bolívar wrote the glorious news to the congress of New Granada. He then dictated a program to Archbishop Narciso Coll y Prat. The letter is a monument to the colossal egotism of the thirty-year old dictator, full of the heady wine of his recent suc-

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[32] See the contemporary note in the margin of Bolívar's letter to the Secretary of State of the Government of the Union (of New Granada), in *Selected Letters*, I, 30, on the critical condition which Bolívar had brought about. This may be one of the reasons why the Granadans were glad to let him go where he wished, to Caracas.

[33] *Selected Letters*, I, 31, and many other places in part or in whole.

cess.[34] This is not merely a statement of Bolívar's anti-clericalism. It is a revelation of his utter lack of knowledge of the Catholic faith, or, if he was aware of his words on confession, it is an indication of anti-Catholicism as well as anti-Clericalism. He accuses the clergy of undermining the revolutionary program in the confessional, and wants the Archbishop to suspend any priest who would absolve enemies to his program! This is the *meaning* of the letter! In plain words, what Bolívar demanded was that the sacrament of penance should be used to force people to agree with him: give absolution to those who were in favor of his republic and refuse it to those who were not! And this of course reeks with stupidity.

Glance at the logical consequences. If patriots alone were to be absolved, Bolívar was the greatest of the patriots. He should be absolved—nay, canonized—immediately. This is not facetious, for the idea was taken up by at least seventeen later dictators in Latin America, who went so far as to establish their own religion after the manner of Henry VIII, or Bolívar if they ever heard of him, and placed themselves over the consciences of a fearing populace. There is no modicum of logic in saying that Spain and popery controlled the minds of men and then praising Bolívar and his offspring for "liberating" the minds of men. Logically, too, only priests who obeyed his injunctions would be allowed to officiate, and thus the dictator would have control of the clergy. From this time forward Bolívar followed his dictatorial principle. Churchmen were to him in two categories: the fiendish subversives who did not submit to his will, and the venerable fathers who subscribed to his campaign.

While Bolívar was ruling Caracas and part of Venezuela with an iron hand the opposing Venezuelans and incoming Spanish troops began to move under General José Tomás Boves. The "war to the death" became a fact. The "bloodthirsty Spaniard's" policy of extermination was met by Bolívar's policy of extermination. Bolívar liquidated opposition and is reported to have had slain over 800 non-conforming prisoners. Barbarity followed barbarity. The story of this primitive warfare and of the suffering people has

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[34] *Ibid.*, I, 36–37; *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 57–59. Prior to this letter of August 10, 1813, Bolívar had written to the archbishop for a list of all of the religious and secular clergy and the properties held by the Church. This is not translated in *Selected Letters*, but is in *Cartas del Libertador* I, 35, dated August 7, the day Bolívar entered the town, significantly.

often been told, though slanted to the advantage of Bolívar. By June, 1814, Bolívar had to leave Caracas. He made his disastrous march east and suffered two bad defeats. So far had he fallen in prestige that some of his party leaders were for executing him or turning him over to the enemy. He narrowly avoided the fate of Miranda and was permitted to leave his country for the island of Margarita. His character and his lack of training and principles had again failed the test.

(To be concluded)

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Book Reviews

The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848–1892. By Florence E. Gibson. Columbia University Press, New York, 1951. Pp. 480.

Studies of the immigrant in American history were long in the hands of filiopietists more interested in eulogizing than in understanding their forbears. Recent historians, focusing attention upon the immigrant group in its dynamic relations with other cultural groups, have had greater success in comprehending the influence of the immigrant upon America's development. Doctor Gibson in this study rejects the partisan enthusiasm of the former without achieving the insight of the latter.

In 1850 the Irish were roughly twenty-six percent of New York City's population. Though this figure was halved by 1890, the census of that year showed that twenty-eight percent of the City's population were by then of Irish parentage. According to the author, the Irish were very early interested in politics, and were "clannish" and "opinionated" as well, so that they were of considerable influence in New York political life in the latter half of the nineteenth century. How they used their influence is the burden of the book.

The study shows that the anglophobia characteristic of the Irish was exploited by politicians, native and Irish, degrading political life, fostering ugly growths like the Tweed Ring, and oftentimes embarassing American foreign relations as in the days of the Fenians, the Land League and the National League. In such an interpretation, of course, there is nothing new. Except for the excellent discussion of the extradition controversy of the 1880's, her treatment of events from the Know-Nothing movement to the election of 1892 is commonplace. The value of the book lies in the detailed narrative it offers of over half a century of Irish-American participation in New York politics.

The account is based mainly upon newspapers; yet this presents a problem. Although Irish-American newspapers, like the immigrant press in generel, depended for existence upon successful reflection of immigrant opinion, probably the Irish vote was determined less by them than by the structure and associations of ward politics. When discussing elections, it would have been helpful if the author had furnished a breakdown of the vote by wards to determine whether or not Irish electoral action correlated with Irish editorial opinion.

Several times the author states that she is concerned simply with presenting Irish-American political attitudes, disclaiming responsibility for any analysis of their origin. In this reviewer's opinion, however, the attitudes are meaningless without an understanding of the community where they were generated. For example, the proliferation of factions in the 1880's, so confusing to the reader of this book, remains obscure unless one understands the deep fissure that Henry George cut through Irish-American life beginning

in 1881 when Patrick Ford sent him to Ireland as correspondent for the *Irish World.*

All this is not to say that Doctor Gibson is unfair. She appreciates the part played by the Irish in the Civil War, and goes to great lengths to exonerate Patrick Eagan of blame for the bad relations that developed with Chili during his sojourn there as American Minister in the early 1890's. But the limitations she has imposed upon her study make it impossible to portray sympathetically the Irish-American predicament. Economically depressed and socially rejected, the Irish expressed their bitterness irrelevantly in a passionate and belligerent nationalism that had already passed the peak of intensity in the years that make up the closing chapters of this book. If sometimes the Irish were a burden to America that was the price that the nation was obviously willing to pay for their labor and loyalty.

THOMAS N. BROWN

University of Notre Dame

The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823–1889. A Study of Influence and Obscurity. By Frank Averill Knapp, Jr. The University of Texas, Latin-American Studies, XII. The University of Texas Press, Austin, 1951. Pp. ix–292. $4.00.

There were two Lerdos in the maelstrom of Mexican politics of the last century, this one and his brother Miguel. Their names are associated with the anti-clerical laws of 1857 and 1874. Miguel went into seclusion when he disagreed with Juárez, and he died of typhus fever in 1861. Sebastián, who hardly knew his brother, then got into the Juárez following, stayed with Benito while the French occupied Mexico, returned with him, and on his death in 1872 took over the presidency. After four years Lerdo attempted a second term but was forced out by Díaz. He escaped to New York, where he lived a recluse for his last thirteen years. Everything about the man, his personality, his motives, his influence, was obscure, and still is, in spite of this noble attempt to get him out of his historical Limbo. He is not just overshadowed in fame because his rule was sandwiched between Juárez and Díaz; he simply did nothing to merit any praise from historians, who have generally accepted H. H. Bancroft's condemnation of his regime.

If you do not read carefully the preface of this book you will be tearing your hair before you are out in it many pages. You expect an objective biography, but Dr. Knapp had given up that idea. He evidently had many heartaches in his research trying to find some approach to his enigmatic subject in a welter of political claptrap and opprobrium, and he must be accorded praise for his attempt to clothe a drab, Mexican *politico* in the habiliments of a sage, educator, Solon, and statesman. Only an enthusiastic student would have dug so widely to find so little substantial data about such a biographee, and only one in love with research or the Good Neighbor program would want to live long with this unsociable, stuffy Lerdo.

In this preface Dr. Knapp admits having little "essential source material," and no "intimate keys to Lerdo the man, his habits, ambitions, ideals," no reliable evidence on his motivations, and so he reconstructs Lerdo's life "by necessarily indirect evidence and frequently by implication," producing a "biography" of the scene and people around Lerdo. This most unusual procedure permits numerous interpretations of the actions of Lerdo and a borrowing of a little fame from each of the "great" men of his time. The interpretations are all sympathetic toward Lerdo, critical of Juárez, Díaz, and "acrobatic Historians" who have berated Lerdo. Admitting the mistakes made by his subject, Dr. Knapp explains or palliates them, even putting the actions of Lerdo above the civil and moral code, nowhere more unfortunately than in describing the escape of Lerdo and his followers from Mexico City. "With them were 50,000 pesos extracted from the funds of the federal treasury, which indicated not so much Lerdo's dishonesty as the firm belief in the legality of his position and his probable intent to make a second stand. . . ." (P. 283). The facts are: Lerdo had turned over the government to the Porfiristas when his plan to hold a fradulent election failed; he had no intention of making a further stand; he had no legal right to any public funds; and H. H. Bancroft (*History of Mexico,* VI, 428) cites authorities for saying that the loot was over $200,000, plus other treasure carried away on fifty mules and in twenty-five wagons; leastwise Sebastián was able to live without work or worry in comfortable, almost luxurious seclusion in New York for thirteen years.

Really, there seems to have been no controversy about Lerdo's place among the semi-competent politicians of Mexico until this book brought it up. The author by making general and particular assumptions has put together a total effigy which might or might not resemble the original. The general assumptions cannot be granted without some substantiation. namely, that Lerdo was a great "statesman," with "vast knowledge" and an "incisive intellect" and that his brother and other "liberals" (not conservatives) were "brilliant." It just cannot be assumed that Lerdo may have been the brains behind Juárez and may have been "the real intellectual, moral, and nationalistic force behind his ultimate determination" to execute Maximillan. The idea that Lerdo was swept into the presidential chair by a large popular majority becomes misleading unless it is explained that he received 9,520 vots to 150, in total about the number of men in the army, and far less than one per centum of the population. No one has yet proved that the constitution of 1857, or Lerdo's application of it in 1874, has done anything to advance democracy in Mexico; nor can one assume that its fashioning was a flash of genius, since the pattern had been set and followed in many places for over half a century. Worst of all is the assumption that an official publication, the mouthpiece of a party, tells the truth. One of the examples of gullibility in this respect appears on page 222: "The administration of Sebastián Lerdo was probably the most tolerant and liberal régime Mexico had ever known, because Lerdo placed individual guarantees . . . ," et certera; the footnote to this laudatory paragraph reads: "It was significant that Lerdo liked to style his own régime 'the tolerant, patriotic, and progressive

administration which Señor Lerdo directs. . . .' *Diario Oficial,* January 1, 1875."

A brief comment about the Epilogue on Lerdo's place in history where he becomes, without the previously mentioned essential sources, "perhaps the most outstanding example among many, many forgotten statesmen submerged in the patina surrounding Juárez and Díaz." "Lerdo," concludes Dr. Knapp, "lives not in history and he probably never will." This is indeed an odd conclusion. Lerdo has a place in history, a small, obscure place, not such as he or his biographer would wish, but at least the corner in which Bancroft and others have placed him. This book gives the most favorable interpretation possible of his life and actions.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago.

Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne. His World and His Work. By Eleanor Shipley Duckett. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1951. Pp. xii–337. $5.00.

Miss Duckett needs no introduction to the historian. Her delightful *Gateway to the Middle Ages* and her *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* have qualified her as historian, research scholar and exquisite story-teller more than any recommendation that I can give. But in *Alcuin* she is even better.

Every schoolboy knows something about Alcuin, and every historian is capable of stating a few facts about his work in the Palace School of Charlemagne. Some may be able to add a few observations about this intriguing Englishman who, following in the footsteps of the great Bede, did so much for European learning in its all-important formative years. But then too often words fail, and Alcuin again becomes the "shadowy figure" of Miss Duckett's preface.

Yet he is scarcely "shadowy" any longer. By her touch he has become a fantastically interesting, indeed exciting person whose life runs from the scholarly work of the schools of York, through the intellectual programs of the monasteries to the courts of popes and kings. For Alcuin was no isolated figure; he was alive with the spirit of his age, in him are expressed its hopes, its visions, its struggles and its adversities. Indeed from the eventful Easter in 781 when he first encountered Charles in Parma to his last breath at Tours where, even as deacon he was abbot, he was the Frankish intellect. He did not as some detached seer contemplate the intellectual foundation of the New Europe; he laid his hand to the cementing of some of its mightiest stones, and one wonders really what Charlemagne would have been without him, for Alcuin was the light of his mind and the strong tower of his faith.

He was a comparatively old man when he became the leader of that coterie of scholars who left their mark on the mind of the new Europe, yet he never lost his "devoted earnestness for the good of this wicked world." Though his own works belie much originality he was nonetheless a man of exceptional scholarly ability (one wonders what he would

have done under a Damascene in the profound intellectual atmosphere of the "theological East"), yet he willingly sacrificed himself to the lusterless rudiments of grammar and to the teaching of frightfully dull Frankish boys. Still, these boys were the hopes of Europe, and as he wrote to the monks at Jarrow, "he who does not learn as a boy, does not teach when he is old."

What vision as a teacher? He had some of that universal mind of the Fathers coupled with the courage and drive of the "new peoples." He developed the Palace Schools; he enlisted the efforts of excellent scholars; he confronted even the "autocratic and dictatorial" Charles, and throughout his letters he is found preaching incessantly and momentous (certainly for the future) doctrine of the unity of the West. He held the doctrine of Christ a sacred trust, and defended it vigorously against the heretic, but he relied not on force but on "reason and truth." He transformed the liturgy of the Frankish church, bringing it into line with the practices of Rome, and it was Alcuin who introduced the *Credo* into the Mass in the North. In an age delineated by extremes of brutality and misguided devotion, he stood forth the apostle of moderation, temperence and solid understanding: "God does not care so much what we eat as He cares how we obey. . ." and "A man can be driven to baptism but not to belief."

Then too, there appears no better guide to an understanding of the political thinking of the age than this untiring teacher. May we not say that without Alcuin the underlying spirit of the Holy Roman Empire is lost, and the Christmas Day crowning in 800 and the statement of Einhard—so variously interpreted—that Charles was "reluctant" to receive the imperial crown cannot be properly evaluated? Miss Duckett avoids any decision on this matter, but the life of Alcuin that she has given us verily shouts the answer. Throughout his long life, the old abbot of Tours had been one of the most ardent defenders of religion and the sanctity of the Holy See, and his spirit permeated the soul of Charlemagne who, for all his titles, always maintained a fine primitive respect for the sanctity of religion. Such a king could not have assumed an honor which associated him so intimately with the cause of the faith without sincere trepidations. Einhard, "the busy ant" and "the serious page" described by Theodulf, may not have known this, but Alcuin and his friend, the great Arno of Salzburg, who was present at the ceremony, certainly did.

Yet why go further? There is so much that is presented in this work as if for the first time: the sketches of Charlemagne himself, the life of the Frankish court, the little vignettes on the scholars. Read the book and come in contact with a world that you do not know. Many have tried in the past to recreate it; they have failed. We have had to wait for Miss Duckett whose genius couples a serious and penetrating scholarship with the touch of the poetess. This is the kind of writing this justifies the role of historian.

JOHN A. KEMP

Loyola University, Chicago

Lewis Cass, the Last Jeffersonian. By Frank B. Woodford. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1950. Pp. ix, 380. $5.00.

It seems incredible that such a significant and colorful figure as Lewis Cass should last have been the subject of a biography in 1899. Cass was a national figure of considerable stature in the first half of the nineteenth century. He was for eighteen years territorial governor of Michigan, having received the appointment from President Madison for meritorious service in the War of 1812. He served as Secretary of War in Jackson's cabinet, as ambassador to France for six years, as senator from Michigan from 1845 to 1857, and Secretary of State in Buchanan's cabinet. If his contemporaries had such trust in his ability and if his record was one of honorable achievements, how can we account for the neglect? The sad truth is that he was a Democrat in those years when the Democratic Party was too often the party of expediency and self-seeking. With rare exceptions, the Democratic Party of Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan was a machine party of small men and sectional principles. History has fairly judged it, and in so judging history has cast the mantle of oblivion on some rather praiseworthy men, Cass among them.

Mr. Woodford, fortunately, was led by "inescapable forces" (says the dust jacket) to make the necessary modern evaluation of the architect of the principle of *popular sovereignty*. Through his efforts we are presented with an accurate description of the stage upon which Cass played and of the role in which he was cast. Students of the old Northwest will be grateful for a new perspective from which to examine the growth of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. From Mr. Woodford's evidence it is clear that Cass truly deserves the title of "empire builder." His struggles with the national government for roads and fortifications; his efforts to lure immigrants into the west; his concern for good territorial organization; and his attempts to improve the public land and Indian services were all part of his program of western development. In fact, it might be asserted that Cass contributed more to the development of the upper middle west than any other American, not excluding Horace Greeley!

Cass' career as Secretary of War, starred by such incidents as the Black Hawk War, the Cherokee case, the Nullification imbroglio, and the Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute, brought him into close touch with national problems and the growing dilemmas of sectionalism. It is here that Mr. Woodford is least effective, perhaps because he finds Cass something less than heroic. But, in dealing with Cass in France and the machinations preceding the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, Mr. Woodford rediscovers what Americans knew at the time—that Cass was an ardent (almost jingoistic) defender of the American cause in European diplomatic circles.

With the presidential aspirations and senatorial achievements of General Cass Mr. Woodford deals candidly and fairly. The Oregon question, the Wilmot Proviso, the Mexican War, the Nicholson letter, the election of 1848, Popular Sovereignty, the Compromise of 1850 are passed in review and the reader is amazed at the position occupied by Cass in Congress. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster were not the only great congressmen of that era. And like them, Cass made history—and mistakes.

Why, one asks, when he has completed the volume, was Cass the "last Jeffersonian?" The author neither explains Jeffersonianism nor demonstrates Cass' adherence to the Jeffersonian system. What does emerge from the book is the portrait of a politician whose actions followed current exigencies and whose principles were based on the mixed conditions and beliefs of a frontier democracy. Cass was true to the spirit of the west—the spirit of nationalistic manifest destiny coupled with great capitalistic expectations.

MENTOR L. WILLIAMS

Illinois Institute of Technology

Notes and Comments

The Education of the Mexican Nation, by George K. Kneller, was published this year by Columbia University Press. The book is not intended to be a history of education in Mexico but an analysis of the educational trends and progress in the light of the needs of the people. After the first two chapters of background materials the work becomes an historical record of the present status of the educational system as administered by the Mexican government. The work should be noted in historical periodicals because it is in the main a painstaking study and interpretation of the ideals, aims, training programs, curricula, methods, problems and frustrations of the recent ministries of education. The study is sympathetic and objective, bringing together a reference bibliography of wide breadth, and moreover is on the encouraging more than patronizing side. The summaries concluding the chapters and the final assessment of the results of six years of investigation will be duly appreciated by general readers. The general conclusion in view of the centuries-old illiteracy of the populace and the functional deficiencies of both educators and educables, is that Mexico has made great strides toward elevating her people socially, economically, and politically, though there is much yet to be done to bring about a mature, national existence based upon training in the little red schoolhouses.

From the critical and historical viewpoint there are some grounds for quarrel. Criticism will be made of statements in the introductory chapters, as is customary, rather than on the findings in the body of the work, which is almost strictly in the department of education. In the first fifty pages there are misleading generalizations and some poorly authenticated conclusions. "Resentful of abuse from exploiting overlords, who have too often betrayed and frustrated them, Mexico's peoples are driving toward fuller individual recognition and more active citizenship," (p. 3) is open to query, if one realizes that no immediate "overlord" for the past fifty years at least has been able to exist without the approval of the government overlords. "Communities maintain the right to appropriate land needed for their subsistence, even if it has to be taken from large private properties," (p. 6) likewise needs qualification, for no community can take land from one of the stout politicians; moreover, the statement is typical com-

munistic bombast. Following this passage is another rather naïve statement about the "redistribution" of land during Cárdenas's administration. Your reviewer happened to have been present during the process of such "redistributions,"—confiscations of properties of non-party, or non-communist, citizens and foreigners. In an effort to give all opinions on the many moot topics Dr. Kneller shows too much deference to the printed page, to official sources and to biased or very secondary writers. Much more could be said about the "cultural missions" and "rural schools" (p. 47) which in the Calles-Cárdenas periods served the purpose of educating children in atheism, communism, and hate of the United States. While Dr. Kneller is correct in thinking that the Mexican peoples should be directed in their aspirations for education, it is still not clear who should do the telling and how far the people enjoy any right to get what they want.

Again in the preliminary pages there are errors. It is several times stated that Mexico became independent in 1810; Hidalgo is given credit for "severing relations" with Spain, (p. 34); Fray Pedro de Gante is called Father instead of Brother; in the sentence "Maximilian and the invading French had been driven out in 1862 only by means of unified national effort," (p. 36), there are three mistakes. A sample of several far-fetched conclusions appears on page 10, where, because there have been established an Institute of Linguistic Research and a model village, the conclusion is: "Education in Mexico is thus becoming Indian-conscious." Despite these deficiencies the meat of the book, the last 200 pages cannot be ignored as a contribution to knowledge of education in our neighboring nation. The summary criticism at the end is very satisfactory.

J. V. J.

* * * *

Nearly everyone acquainted with the work of the Jesuits in the old and the new world knows of the distinguished contribution made by the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin to the apostolate of lay and clerical rehabilitation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Yet practically no one, even among those dedicated to the work today, knows the name of its founder. I do not know whether Jean Leunis (1532–1584) would be too happy about this, because the work of the Sodality was his very life, but it is in such wise that he has been treated by history.

Now there is a book to explain the origins of this world-wide institution. It is *Le Pére Jean Leunis, S.J. (1532–1584): Fondateur des Congrégations mariales,* by J. Wicki, S. J., translated from the German by T. Wey and P. Defoux. (Institutum Historicum S.J., Rome, 1951. Pp. xxi–138.) This excellent piece of scholarly research is an effort to restore to him his place in the story of a great spiritual work.

Jean Leunis was a French-speaking Belgian of Liége and was intimately associated with some of the great names in the Jesuit Order. He arrived in Rome to enter the Order with his only worldly possession, the *Office of the Blessed Virgin;* he was received by Saint Ignatius himself, had his examination from the noted secretary of the Jesuits, Polanco, and received his novitiate training under Corneille Wischaven, the first novice-master of the Society. His training was most haphazard; he had no formal novitiate, his studies he performed by himself, and after but six years with the Jesuits he was ordained in Rome in 1562.

His life saw him in Rome, Paris, Belgium, and Montepulciano; his work was the teaching of the lowest grades of the college, but, however humble his academic work, he left a series of Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin as his great contribution to the re-inspiration of the Catholic youth that was to make the Church so strong at the end of the century. It is of interest to note that the rules of the Sodality were directed towards the establishment of a true Christian humanism in the hearts and minds of the students of the Jesuit colleges. Out of the ranks of this organization came so many vocations to the priesthood and to a holy lay life, that it is almost impossible to describe its wide-spread influence in the work of the Catholic Reformation.

But Leunis' work seems to have met with constant opposition, not merely from great teaching organizations, like the University of Paris, but also from certain Jesuits themselves. In fact, were it not for the constant support given him by the General, Everard Mercurian, the movement would have failed at the outset.

Leunis himself ended his rather brief life in northern Italy. After a ridiculous "iron and blood" attempt to convert the Vaudois heretics, it was finally seen that much more could be done to win over these people through peaceful preaching of the Gospel and through a work of solid Christian charity. Therefore Leunis and some other Jesuits were sent into the Val Perosa and labored there with signal success. Not long after, however, he was sent

to the Jesuit college in Turin where he again devoted himself to sodality work and where he died November 19, 1584. "Il ne pensait et ne vivait que pour la Congregation."

Father Wicki and his translators have added a precious page to the history of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. They have drawn on the most excellent primary and secondary sources; their work is an excellent piece of research. There is only one criticism: in their passion for solid and objective scholarship, they have almost forgotten Jean himself, and one has the feeling that even after reading the work the reader does not know too much about him. Certain questions could have been treated in more details, especially, the position of the Sodality, as a corporation (legally it was a gild), and its original democratic character, which was lost under the Jesuit General Aquaviva, and its methods of operation in its various locales. But this criticism is more of the "how-I-would-write-the-book" variety, and the authors undoubtedly believed that these questions were treated in more general works.

J. A. K.

* * * *

The Newberry Library Bulletin, Second Series, No. 6 (May, 1951), has a fine and well merited tribute to William B. Greenlee. Inspired in college by Morse Stephens to an interest in the history of Portugal he has gathered over more than fifty years and excellent collection of works and materials on the great Portuguese empire. These he has placed in the Newberry Library in a section known as The William B. Greenlee Collection. It is recognized as the best collection in the United States on Portugal to 1820. Its founder has already been widely honored by learned societies of three continents and has received from the Portuguese government the rank of Commander of the Order of St. Iago for his scholarly contributions. His name will be held in grateful blessing by those who will share the fruits of his collecting hobby. On the occasion of the public display of special items of the collection Professor C. R. Boxer delivered an address describing the collection, which is published in this number of the *Bulletin* and is available at the Newberry Library.

* * * *

"Education in Colonial Louisiana," by Stuart G. Noble and Arthur Nuhrah, appears in the October, 1949, *The Louisiana His-*

torical Quarterly, which has only recently come from the press. The co-authors have been gathering materials on their chosen area for some time and now present a "somewhat more accurate and comprehensive account of the schools of this period than was heretofore possible." By a very peculiar oversight there is no mention made of *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700–1763)*, the valuable study by Jean Delanglez, published in 1935. Not only would this work amplify the general account just written, but it would offer a fine guide to materials on education in Louisiana and the problems of establishing schools in the colony.

* * * *

"A Concise History of the University of Texas, 1883-1950," by W. J. Battle, appears in the April, 1951, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly.* The paper is indeed too concise to bring forth much except the most notable features of the development of the great University of Texas. Ernest C. Shearer has an interesting article on "The Callahan Expedition, 1855," from Georgia, and Donald W. Peters brings out some fine points of "The Rio Grande Boundary Dispute in American Diplomacy," illustrating his findings by colored maps. The remainder of the number is devoted to "General John Lapham Bullis, the Thunderbolt of the Texas Frontier," and documents on "Moses Lapham."

* * * *

"Your Truly Attached Friend, Mary Lincoln," finds its proper place in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* the Spring Number of this year. Charles V. Darrin edits ten letters of Mrs. Araham Lincoln that have never been published, all addressed to Mrs. John Henry Shearer. Norman W. Caldwell writes an article of general interest in the same number: "Fort Massac: Since 1805."

Professor Thomas D. Clark takes us back to the days of an old American institution in his study of "The Country Store in American Social History," which was delivered as an address at the Ohio State Museum and is now published in the April, 1951, *Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly.* The colorful description brings out the point that the store tended to centralize all community life in the rural areas.

* * * *

"Canada is a North American nation . . . independent, a fully self-governing North American nation." So writes Professor Walter N. Sage of the University of British Columbia in the *Pacific Historical Review* for May, 1951. Professor Sage explains his reasons for his position as stated and moreover reveals Canadian friendship for the United States. His address of last December to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association is entitled: "Canada: The Neighbor to the North." In the same number Professor John J. Johnson discusses "Foreign Factors in Dictatorship in Latin America." He presents a number of reasons for his conclusion that the democratic processes in Latin America have been and are almost nil.

* * * *

Verbum, a scholarly quarterly published by the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro has a very remarkable article by Max H. Boudin, which amounts to an eighty page grammar and vocabulary of the Timbira group of Indians along the Gurupi River in northern Brazil, whose chief is the last of the formerly greater tribe of Kré-Yé Indians. The study is phonetic and the words are translated into Portuguese. This magazine also carries an annual bibliography of historical works on Brazil, arranged by Helio Vianna.

* * * *

Michigan History has rendered another service to historians and economists by publishing a translation of Karl Neidhard's "Reise nach Michigan . . . im Sommer 1934," which appeared in the first and only issue of *Amerikanisches Magazin* of May, 1835. Only two copies of the German are known to exist. The article is translated by Frank X. Braun and edited with an introduction by Robert Benaway Brown in the March, 1951, number of *Michigan History.* On both front and back covers The Michigan Historical Commission and the Historical Society of Michigan express their congratulations to the City of Detroit on its 250th birthday.

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The Religion of Bolívar

V. Military Dictator (continued)

To judge of the ethics and morality of Bolívar's military dictatorship from his entrance into Caracas on August 7, 1813, in the carriage drawn by the Creole girls, and his exit on a mule eleven months later, July 7, 1814, it is pertinent to check his acts against the principles of the Catholic Church to which he nominally subscribed.

First off, there is the question of Bolívar's authority or his right to take and to rule the town of Caracas. Thus far no writer has proved that he had any authority whatever to act as he did. His authority could only come from Ferdinand VII, or from the Spanish Cortes, or from Napoleon, or from the people of Caracas, or from the people of Venezuela, or from God. His right to rule certainly did not come from the first three, against whom he was in revolt. Assuredly it did not come from God. It can be stated absolutely that he was not the choice of the sovereign people of Venezuela, for the cities, towns, caudillos, Spanish and American born inhabitants were almost universally against his rule, or the rule of Caracans, while the Indians and Negroes followed their own leaders. Finally, many of the citizens of Caracas opposed his authority. His only right to rule lay in his might to rule, that is, his "army" of some eight hundred followers, conscripted from various places in and out of Venezuela. Until someone reveals the contrary, Bolívar had no right, duty, law, or authority to rule in Caracas, and therefore he was morally guilty of the ensuing injustices—the taxation, the looting, the confiscations, the trials, the executions, and all acts sanctioned by his government.

The attempted justifications of his action in this and in the many similar cases of his future career will never change the wrong

to right. It is idle to compare Bolívar's motives and procedures with those of the founding fathers of the United States. They are poles apart. There is no indication that he knew or cherished the democratic processes. Even though he talked of his government as a "republic" and erected a democratic façade, he himself characterized it as a dictatorship, and excused his action on the ground that the people were ignorant of what was good for themselves and had no experience in self-determination or self-government. The popular ignorance is perfectly understandable, but the conclusion that because of it Bolívar should determine and rule them is false, especially since he had thus far given no evidence of any genius for governing. There is no purpose to saying that he was liberating his people from the tyranny of Spain, for, as events proved, the vast majority of folk did not want to transfer the distant tyranny of Spain for the immediate tyranny of Bolívar. The pages of history abound with justifications of the actions of leaders like Bolívar who have invested capitals of nations for one or other superficial motive, but it still remains wrong to usurp the rights of another human being.

One of the first acts of Bolívar's dictatorship in Caracas was cleverly designed to make the Church appear to be sanctioning his cause. One of his young soldiers, Giradot, was killed in action and buried at Valencia.[35] The boy's heart, however, at the order of the Supreme Chief, was removed, embalmed, placed in an urn and brought to Caracas. Along the road the church pastors and people were required to pay homage when the carriage containing the urn paused. By the time it arrived in Caracas the carriage, with its guard of honor of soldiers and two colonels, adorned with small children dressed as angels, had all the appearance of one of the familiar religious processions for relics and the Blessed Sacrament. Moreover, all the monks, the diocesan clergy, and Archbishop Coll y Prat had to gather at a shrine-like repository for the urn at nine in the morning of October 14, 1813. All joined as the procession, with chants and music, made its triumphal way to the cathedral where the heart reposed in state. The solemn burial service began with vespers, and on the following day all attended the Mass, while the bells of the city tolled. Bolívar presided in the sanctuary beside the Archbishop!

[35] This Giradot episode is amply described by Lecuna in *Crónica Razonada de las Guerras de Bolívar*, I, 132–134.

Archbishops have, of course, made mistakes, but this writer cannot conceive of Coll y Prat yielding willingly to this program or missing its implications.[36] A Bolívar whose stock accusation was the fanaticism and superstition of the clergy here reveals some revolting character traits, aspiring even to the popes' authority of canonization, forcing reverence from all for one whom he considered a martyr, and indirectly for himself. In cheap imitation of Napoleon he sat in the sanctuary with the highest ecclesiastic of the country, thus seeking to canonize his cause, have it identified with the Church, and make of it a religious crusade. An objective observer must admit that the religious worship of Bolívar seems to have been Bolívar. Contemporaries thought the whole business sacriligious and blasphemous and completely out of the Archbishop's control, considering the announced tendency of the Supreme Chief to do away with all who opposed his will.

As has been previously stated, Bolívar's "war to the death" was highly immoral, as a violation of the natural law and the commandment: Thou shalt not kill. Some of his defenders have assumed that he was justified in waging such a war against the Spaniards since he had a right to liberty. But, despite his personal motives, he had no popular mandate and no authority to involve the land in war. Granted this principle of taking the law into one's own hands, no government can exist and chaos must result, just as was proved when other caudillos followed the principle. Some casual readers are under the impression that Bolívar proclaimed this terrible war against the Spaniards alone. This is far from the truth. It was proclaimed precisely against *all* who resisted *his* "republic (not *a* republic), whether Spaniard, Venezuelan, Creole, or slave. "Would it be right," he asks, "to suffer a war to the death and not wage one? I have declared one and I have put it into action, but not with the severity that I should have employed."[37] The rhetorical question can easily be answered. Bolívar started the war to the death, chose the

[36] *Ibid.*, I, 220–221; here Lecuna tells of the manner in which the "concord between the state and the priesthood" came about, that is, concord came with Bolívar's ordering the confiscation of the ornaments, houses, and rentals of churches, and telling the clergy what they could and could not do. For an example of Bolívar's "recommending" to the Archbishop appointments of pastors, see the dictator's letters to Coll y Prat dated February 8, and May 28, 1814, in *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 97, and 101. The latter is translated in *Selected Writings*, I, 72; in it Bolívar refused the prelate's petition for pardon of prisoners whom Bolívar had condemned to death; they were shot.

[37] *Selected Writings*, I, 86.

sword as a means of forcing the colonials to organize for war purposes, and prosecuted his war, unchosen by any sovereign people. At his doorstep must be laid the blame for the ravages of war that followed. Whether he thought he was doing right or wrong is for the Supreme Judge to decide.

More immediate judgment was forthcoming. When the plainsmen, the Spaniards, and the Creoles found that they had to deal with a man who had taken their homes and properties, had executed prisoners of war, had executed civilian dissenters, had deprived Caracas of all freedom and had reached a mood of "liberating" the other cities of Venezuela, they resolved individually, severally and sovereignly to oust him. In other words, the majority of Venezuelans had branded his regime as criminal. By April, 1814, he was demanding youths for his army as soon as they reached the age of fourteen. On June 2 news of Napoleon's defeat reached Caracas. There was a sigh of relief that Ferdinand VII was again king, and an epidemic apathy for Bolívar's "republic" enveloped the city.[38] Unable to get men, money or moral support, he found other cities falling in line behind the terrible Boves. So Bolívar had to escape.

The manner of his exit followed a legal pattern whereby future dictators might fall gracefully from power. First he appointed a cabildo into whose hands he resigned his "authority" as Supreme Chief.[39] Then he petitioned the cabildo to employ him as general to defend the capital. What could the cabildo do? Once general, he decided that the place could not be held against the oncoming Boves. He would abandon it and thus save his army of 2,000. There was need of funds, therefore the cabildo ordered the churches sacked to the amount of some $29,000 in silver, pearls and gold ornaments. This theft would presumably help the leaders to escape and reorganize for greater things. When the local "Generals," Piar and Ribas, found out that he had turned the wealth over to a pirate, Bianchi, they thought, as is customary with suspicious and narrow-minded men, that this was done to secure his own transportation and livelihood. They were ready to do with Bolívar as he had done to Miranda: turn him over to Boves, or, as some say, execute him. They allowed him to

[38] *Crónica Razonada,* I, 276. Lecuna has brought together an excellent blow by blow account of the movements of Bolívar, and this is the best to follow for the factual data but not for the interpretations of the facts; certainly Lecuna has everything possible in favor of the Liberator.

[39] *Ibid.,* I, 293.

sail, with the pirate, however, but without money or arms and with a $29,000 debt against him.

With the legalities finished Bolívar was about to depart from Caracas. Suddenly, about half of the population wished to go with him, 20,000 men, women and children, according to the unreliable report.[40] While he took to his mule, they went on foot, because, according to his enemies, he had forced them to leave with him, or because, according to his defenders, they would rather share his lot than wait to be killed, maimed, or raped by Boves's cohort of wildmen: Negroes, Indians, slaves and royalist sympathizers. Thousands of these patriots, if we are to believe in these impossible numbers, died on the terrible journey with Bolívar to the coastal town of Cumaná, while the rest became displaced persons in the Antilles and on the Spanish Main.

This exodus is open to considerable dispute, both as to the number of people and the reasons for the disastrous trek. As a moral case it can be solved. Bolívar was definitely an occasion for their departure, since his presence and his "republic" put them in a position to be attacked with himself. He and his "army" were co-criminals, to Boves. If they willingly subscribed to his rule they were as guilty as he, unless they were misled by him. If he had willingly and knowingly hoodwinked them, the guilt is his. If he coerced them by political or military threats, he is of course to blame. If they left willingly, and certainly his own sister for one did not, he was either guilty of criminal neglect or an outright fool to expose them to the rigors of such a journey. When the disputants will have decided on the point of coercion the above analysis will serve as a means to judge the moral issue.

On the eve of his sailing from Carúpano, September 7, 1814, he addressed a farewell "Manifesto to the People of Venezuela,"[41] to refute the opinion that he had been "the perpetrator of the calamities or crimes of his country." He proclaimed his innocence and held his honor untarnished, while accusing the Venezuelan compatriots of causing the calamities. "Your brothers, and not the Spaniards, have plunged the knife into your breast, spilled your blood, burned your homes, and condemned you to exile." It must indeed have been consoling to the survivors of his "republic" to know that Bolívar was not to blame and that he still thought of them. After all, they had merely undergone a civil war and were

40 *Ibid.*, 1, 295.
41 *Selected Writings*, I, 80–84.

only homeless exiles. However, as a feeble pawn in the hands of Fate he vowed vengeance and vowed to strike off the chains of all who were so dumb as to refuse to be unchained. The letter is a model of dictatorial frustration. Among the incoherent and illogical paragraphs one may read this:

> Far from entertaining the insane presumption of holding myself blameless for my country's catastrophe, I suffer, on the contrary, the deepest grief, for I regard myself as the accursed instrument of its frightful miseries; but I am innocent because my conscience has never been party to any wilful error or act of malice, even though, on the other hand, it may have advised me wrongly and to no effect.[42]

The whole letter may easily be read since the Bank of Venezuela has distributed the *Selected Writings of Bolívar* rather widely, and it should be read by anyone interested in the mind and character of the Liberator. It reveals, at least to this writer, his frustration, his anger, his inarticulateness or inability to think and write clearly, his wounded pride, his vengeful spirit, his defence mechanisms, his self-pity, and, what is pertinent here, his state of conscience, or, his own idea of his guilt or innocence, the subjective side of his actions in contrast to the objective where his guilt seems apparent.

To give the kindest possible interpretation to his words, quoted above let us put them in a simple form: "I hold myself to blame. I am griefstricken. In conscience I am innocent because I did not think I was doing wrong. If I have done wrong it is because I was misguided and my conscience was ill-advised. I have acted in good faith." Now this would be a clear statement, one to which Bolívar or any man might be happy honestly to make. This is what his supporters *presume* to be the attitude of mind of the idealized patriot, the Liberator.

Unfortunately, Bolívar did not make this simple statement, as is clear from a comparison with what he actually wrote. Nor could he. The development of his character in his earlier years, his principles governing his actions as already described, and the deeds of his soon to be narrated do not admit of such a benevolent interpretation of his state of conscience. The majority of people of Venezuela at the time branded his actions as criminal, and this is why he wrote his defense and demanded to be judged not by them but by the rebel government of Bogotá, which at the moment was non-existent. Bolívar knew the moral code—he was

[42] *Ibid.*, I, 83.

not amoral—and he confesses to having a conscience. Any man who had been a leader in so many objectively immoral activities would try long to convince a jury of his complete innocence of guilt. If what he wrote is true, he had plainly fabricated for himself a most comfortable conscience, had made his own rules of moral action just as he had fashioned laws to suit his designs. Such a conscience could never become a guide, but only an instrument for approval of an act, whether sinful or virtuous, as suitable to his ends. How *could* this type of conscience ever "be party to any willful error or act of malice"? Bolívar, like the kings of old, "could do no wrong." His remorse or grief of conscience appeared only in time of failure, when his conscience had advised him "to no effect," but in success, achieved by fair or foul means, his conscience irked him not. It caused no pain when he prosecuted his "war to the death" on civilians and troops alike, or when he executed prisoners of war, or is there indication that it pained him later when he dwelt with another's wife. In fine, what with the mind and will of a dictator developed in him already, we are unhappy to conclude that he also had come by the conscience, or lack of conscience, of a dictator. It remains merely to witness some of the operations of his own principles as they were applied until the hour of his death.

VI. "Religious Pacificator"

While the local caudillos whom Bolívar left behind to fight the cause of liberty in Venezuela were glad to be rid of him, those in Cartagena who heard of his arrival there, September 19, 1814, immediately grew concerned. He was not given a hero's welcome, as some have asserted, nor any welcome.[43] Nor did the chaos in the three important centers of New Granada, Cartagena, Santa Fe de Bogotá, and Santa Marta resolve itself into cosmic order. Since no one of these cities would submit to the control of the other it soon became very clear to Bolívar that none would bow to defeated Caracas or to its former Supreme Chief. Prominent among the factions striving for control in Cartagena was a group of Caraqueños who had arrived long before Bolívar. For reasons best known to themselves (and the British merchants) they sought to garner certain political and economic harvests, once

[43] *Crónica Razonada,* I, 349–353, has an account of Bolívar's short stay in Cartagena, and in these pages Lecuna attempts a refutation of the accusations against Bolívar.

their sway over Cartagena was complete. Bolívar was not wanted by them, his compatriots, as is attested by their accusations against him of theft and ineptitude. The royalists and conservatives of Santa Marta certainly were offering him no hospitality. In short, so hostile were all factions along the coast, including stout General Castillo, that the man without a friend had very soon to leave that area to go up south into the highlands.

On October 27, 1814, he received some news which his astute mind hailed as an opportunity to regain face and possibly fortune. One of his leaders, General Urdañeta, had made a "brilliant retreat" from western Venezuela with what Bolívar called the "army of Caracas," a nondescript force of about a thousand men, and had arrived at Tunja. Bolívar hastened there and shortly took command. He decided to "liberate" Bogotá and its province, Cundinamarca, and thus have the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, which was practically defenceless. In a month's time his "genius" for organizing "campaigns" had the "army" on the move, without much thought for clothing, food, muskets, powder, etc. These were to be gathered on the way. Armed with swords and perchance *machetes* the huge band arrived in the outskirts of Bogotá on December 8, the great Catholic holy day in Latin America, when such unholy things as war should not be thought of. Bolívar sent three letters to two unsuspecting citizens. They were ultimatums—two polite and one nasty.

In the first letter the President of Cundinamarca was informed that Bolívar had been ordered by the general government of New Granada to unite this province with the others.[44] This was a lie. There was no general government nor any such order. Next, Bolívar stated that he wished to bring about the union without firing a shot. After all, his argument runs, we are all brothers "professing the same sublime religion of Jesus," and we should not be killing each other. In other words, we Catholics should not be killing each other; we should be killing only those other Catholics who do not agree with me, Bolívar. The rest of the letter is a series of threats of outrages to be perpetrated on Bogotá if it does not yield to "the heroes of Venezuela, triumphant in hundreds of battles," who know not defeat. The President chose to ignore the bandit bluster.

The second letter[45] went to Juan Jurado, the only one in the

[44] *Selected Writings*, I, 84–85.
[45] *Ibid.*, I, 86–88; *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 107–110.

whole city whom he could call a friend, Bolívar said. Bolívar urged Citizen Jurado not to be taken in by the lies and calumnies regarding his conduct. He had *not* put to death prisoners, except several who were traitors and four hundred Spaniards. He did *not* wage a war to the death, nor does he intend to wage one against Bogotá, that is, if it surrenders peacefully. Otherwise, all the horrors of war will be visited upon it. With bland mendacity he described the powerful force under his command, the other armies from Venezuela and Cartagena which he could summon, and his own undefeated, invincible troops "which are comparable to and even superior to the best of Napoleon's." All of which twaddle left Citizen Juan unimpressed, for he returned a reply that infuriated Bolívar. Bolívar then hastened the following sample of his dictator thinking to private Citizen Jurado:

I have received your reply with the greatest grief, for I see by it that you persist in dying at the hands of our soldiers, who have orders to assault the city and not to spare for a treacherous attack a single inhabitant who might assassinate them treacherously [by sniping] from the streets, the houses and windows, since as I have been informed, even the clerics and women are armed with missiles to destroy us. Santa Fe is going to present a vast spectacle of desolution and death: the houses will be reduced to cinders if by them we are angered. Two thousand flaming torches will be carried to reduce to embers a city which wants to be the sepulchre of its liberators and which receives with jeers, the most outrageous [jeers], one who comes from such remote lands to break the chains that its enemies wish to place on it. These cowards, like so many fanatics, call me irreligious [Godless] and name me Nero; I will be then their Nero, now that they force me against the most vehement sentiments of my heart, which loves all men because they are its brothers, and the Americans because they are its companions in origin and misfortune. My soul is torn to shreds by the mere contemplation of the dread to see reduced to nothing a city, the sister of Caracas and mother of some of the liberators of Venezuela. In short, I send my last intimation: if it is accepted, I am the best friend of this land: if they refuse it, wretched accomplices! these accomplices are the authors of a crime so horrifying as the destruction of this fair city and the death of its sons. You can change this decree, and if you do not you are the second victim after the president. Adios, until you see me as your liberator or your judge.

Simón Bolívar.[46]

The swordfighting began in the streets of Santa Fe de Bogotá on December 9, and the defenders of their homes, colonials and Spaniards alike, finally yielded on December 12.

[46] *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 110–111. This letter dated December 9, 1814, is not translated in *Selected Writings*, though it certainly should have been included as a fine example of Bolivarian mentality.

What was the morality of this action? Bolívar was an aggressor, "from remote lands," without the semblance of authority, slaying people who had done him no wrong, and must be held responsible for highly unjust and a immoral act and for the many particular consequences in losses of life and property. He had no mandate from "Fate" or "Destiny" or civilization or any responsible group or majority to invade the homeland of other people or to force them to enjoy such freedom as his dictatorship promised. Any priest hearing his confession would certainly bind him to complete restitution for the violations of the commandments before absolving him from his sins. Apparently Bolívar stayed away from the confessional.

Now that he had "united" Bogotá and Cundinamarca to the other provinces, he set about uniting the other provinces to Cundinamarca. Within a week he had appointed members of his government, which in turn appointed him general of the armies. By means of this façade of authority he forced all civil and military authorities and corporations to take an oath of allegiance to his government, he searched houses, and forced all to pay taxes for the support of his soldiers.[47] Then he graciously and "humbly" accepted from the Electoral College of his own selection what he considered his "greatest reward," the title: Ilustre y Religioso Pacificador de Cundinamarca, which has been translated "Illustrious and Hallowed Pacificator of Cundinamarca."[48] Thus, with a capital, and a government, he was ready to pacify such places as Cartagena and Santa Marta, where the cult of Bolívar obviously needed spreading.

General Castillo, in charge of something or other at Cartagena, took time from his war against Santa Marta to term Bolívar's "war" on Bogotá one of "plunder, irreligion, immorality, and despotism," and to characterize Bolívar's followers as "Venezuelan cannibals."[49] Bolívar wrote an angry refutation of this defamation of his character, which had no effect at the time but seems to be taken seriously by some recent writers. When one of Bolívar's officers at Honda executed sixteen "disaffected" Spaniards, the general im-

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[47] See his report of December 19 from The General Headquarters of the Liberator to Citizen Secretary of the Department of War, in *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 111–112.

[48] *Ibid.*, I, 120, and *Selected Writings*, I, 91.

[49] *Crónica Razonada*, I, 363–368; Lecuna here attempts to refute what he calls these absurd criticisms and libels, and on page 370 he attempts to show how Gual and Castillo were all wrong, though, we observe, they were both far better in principles than Bolívar.

pression of his rule was so bad that he ordered a trial of the officer, forgetting that the fellow was merely applying his chief's principles.[50] Bolívar must be held responsible *in causa* for any such deeds of his men or governments.

The "Religious Pacificator" marched north with his army of two thousand generals, colonels, Hussars, fusilliers, bowmen, dragoons, swordsmen and cavalry, having the general intention of taking Cartagena Santa Marta, or Caracas. By May, 1815, he was in a predicament. Bogotá was full of enemies; other towns and villages had turned against his republic, against domination by Venezuelans, against the foraging troops; more than eight hundred of his men had deserted.[51] It would be impossible for him to take revolutionary, well fortified Cartagena or conservative Santa Marta. No locality desired liberation, as it meant a central authority opposed to their wishes of a loose federation of states. Moreover, the Spanish troops had arrived and were occupying Barranquilla.

Under these circumstances his letter of resignation on May 8, 1815, is rather amusing.[52] "Love of public peace and the country have made me resign command of the army," he says, and goes on to explain how enemies surround him. To save the army for other uses "I determined to make the last sacrifice which was possible for me, I determined to separate myself from my friends and companions in arms." In other words, he wished to get away alone. "Every soldier, I say it with a blush, every soldier preferred to a man to share my fate; but my one object was to preserve the army intact." When we consider that in the forty days march over eight hundred of these staunch followers had deserted him, it seems reasonably clear that those whom he was about to leave in the highlands also had ideas of escaping from the wrath to come. "The sacrifice of the command, of my fortune and of my future glory has cost me no effort. For me it is so natural to prefer the security of the republic. . . ." He protests that his intentions were good. So saying he journeyed on a British warship to Kingston, Jamaica, where he was on May 14, 1815, safe ashore under the British flag.

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[50] *Ibid.*, I, 372; it is not stated what penalty Bolívar meted out to the executing officer; Bolívar was in a dilemma; he could not logically execute the man, and if he did not, he tacitly approved of the crime.

[51] See Bolívar's letters of March 19, and March 24, 1815, in *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 140 and 141, and *Crónica Razonada*, I, 371–378.

[52] In *Cartas del Libertador*, I, 141–143, and *Selected Writings*, I, 93–95.

VII. Spoil's System

Within five days after his arrival Bolívar turned to the British for aid. His first of a long series of letters went to one Maxwell Hyslop, merchant of Jamaica. Following Miranda's plan he laid before the trader a picture of the whole Caribbean area as "the center of commerce of the universe." To make it such, he said, British aid was needed. A month later to the same Hyslop Bolívar stated his purpose in life. "I desire to continue serving my country, for the general good of mankind and the increase of British commerce."[53] Since the status of his "country" was about as vague as the "general good of mankind" to the practical minds of the British merchants, who had long regaled themselves in this traders' paradise and because of the civil strife were losing money in Venezuela, Bolívar's promise of allegiance to British trade had little effect. He had no products to offer, no prestige, and it is small wonder that he thought of the Orinoco mission lands and their products as a source of income and possibly as a bait to British adventurers.

It is not to the purpose of this paper to trace his various activities in the islands and in eastern Venezuela during the next three years. There appears no thought of religion in his dealings with merchants, smugglers, pirates, Petion of Haiti, the Dutch islanders and the British diplomats. Whether his purpose was to liberate the people of Venezuela for his own selfish reasons or for patriotic reasons is conjecturable, but it is certain that he was willing to adopt any means, good or bad, to attain his end, and thus by consorting with sundry scamps, adventurers, mercenaries, and deluded persons he prepared for more bloodshed and ravage in Venezuela.

From May 14, 1815, to March 31, 1816, Bolívar busied himself tirelessly trying to get loans, volunteers, munitions and ships for an attack on Venezuela. On February 7, 1816, he had himself elected Supreme Chief of the expedition, though a few French pirates and Venezuelan caudillos did not approve.[54] His success as inspirer of men in the cause of liberty may be judged by the numbers inspired. He collected about 240 men, of whom about 160 were officers and officials, six schooners (all captained and manned

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[53] *Cartas del Libertador*, Tomo XI, New York, 1948, 36.
[54] *Crónica Razonda*, I, 422.

by foreigners), and a dozen assorted cannon,[55] The most impressive item in the whole affair was the title taken by its leader: "SIMON BOLIVAR, Supreme Chief of the Republic, and Captain General of the Armies of Venezuela and of New Granada, &., &., &." As long as historians are impressed by this sort of lexiphanic nonsense, we may expect celebrations in honor of Bolívar.

This little filibustering expedition got under way from Los Cayos in westernmost Haiti at the end of March, 1816.[56] It captured two ships carrying cargos worth eating, and a pair of friars. The latter were traded ashore for two cows. Of course the Supreme Chief captured the undefended little town of Carúpano without firing a shot. By July he was able to swell his armies from 250 to 800 men, but the "liberation" of some slaves may have played some part in the augment. Hearing of the approach of fourteen Spanish ships he decided to preserve his strength and valor for the future. On July 17, 1816, he took to his schooners and after various unwelcomed stops put in once more at Los Cayos on September 3.

For the next three months he was defending his failure and preparing another quixotic expedition.[57] This was as badly managed as the preceding and was composed of as motley a personnel. The first ship, leaving Cayos on December 9, was soon captured by the Spaniards. Bolívar left Jacmel, Haiti, on December 21 and arrived at the small town of Juan Griego on the Island of Margarita on December 28. Declaring the island a republic, he addressed himself to the various guerrilla chiefs, summoning them to fight tyranny and promising them the conquest of all lands to Peru.

These chiefs headed independent bands similar in character to a Pancho Villa, who supported themselves by pillage in the name of liberty. There were perhaps a dozen such in Venezuela, but the four most important were Páez in the west, the half-breed Piar in the southeast, and Bermúdez and Marino in the eastern area. These Bolívar addressed as "beloved companions and friends" and "Generals." The ridiculous inflation extended to his 700 man army and to his five ship navy and to his government officials. Indians became "bowmen," cowhands became "cavalry," raids became "cam-

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55 *Ibid.*, I, 434.

56 Lecuna has made this trip enormously important by using pages 401 to 483 in his *Crónica Razonada* to describe it in detail; all events are made to revolve around Bolívar, whereas to the British and Spaniards his was just one more raid.

57 *Crónica Razonada*, I, 495–536.

gaigns," &., &., &. After some "brilliant victories" Bolívar moved his "General Headquarters" to a church in Barcelona on the mainland. From this "fort" Bolívar thought that he was directing affairs from January to March, 1817, when he was forced to admit that there was "anarchy in the army." Each of the outstanding "generals" was running his own "government."[58]

In March the Spanish troops were still inactive owing to fevers, and so was Bolívar. There was no money for the soldiers, nor much opportunity to gain a livelihood by the customary looting, since the sparsely settled country was by this time devoid of products. To the south, however, in Venezuelan Guiana lay the twenty-nine mission towns between the Caroní and Orinoco Rivers, four hundred square leagues of farm and grazing lands, directed by the Capuchin friars. This was the one garden spot of Venezuela, where peace had reigned for a century and plenty was the rule. Here the missionaries had labored to fine effect with their Christian Indians. To this fertile land Bolívar turned his eyes, then his steps. It became the setting for a great crime.

He reached the mission lands to meet "General" Piar on April 3, 1817. From January to March, Piar had been taking mission after mission, putting a "military commander" as head of each. By the time Bolívar arrived he had taken over the southern part of the chain of missions and he and his men had the horses, mules, cattle, and other properties. What agreement was made between the two leaders is not certain, but certain it is that Bolívar did not condemn the thefts, that he did consider Piar as a subordinate "General" and that after a month he made Piar a "General-in-Chief." After the talk the Supreme Chief went back to Barcelona to evacuate the place officially and to plan ways of eliminating the rival chiefs, before the arrival of the Spanish General Morillo and 10,500 soldiers. He got back to the Orinoco and was at Angostura on April 30, 1817.

He promptly set up his republic, &., &., &., and confirmed all the titles of Piar. This worthy when confiscating the missions imprisoned all forty-one of the friars who were caring for the Indians.[59] He had them in jail for three months, even when consulting with Bolívar. During this time fourteen had died of the effects of their imprisonment and seven had escaped. Twenty re-

[58] *Ibid.*, 537–539.

[59] The tragedy in the Guayana missions is told in many places. Lecuna, *Crónica Razonada*, II, 25–33, presents a resumé of the reasons why Bolívar could not be to blame.

mained in jail at Carhuachi for a month while Bolívar was Supreme Chief of the area. Bolívar wanted them in a place where they could not influence the Indians or aid the royalists. He ordered their removal to another jail. The two officials in charge suddenly had all twenty friars lined up and shot.

Since that crime there has been an exceptional amount of argument over the author of the foul deed. The main question has been: "Who gave the order for the assassination?" All sorts of answers, excuses, extenuations, have been forthcoming, but none of them are to the point. From the viewpoint of law, the due process of law, the question is: "*By whose authority* were these men arrested, imprisoned, unaccused and untried, and kept in jail in jeopardy to their lives?" The answer is positive: By the authority of Piar and Bolívar; therefore, the two were guilty of what Lecuna, Bolívar's staunchest defender, termed one of the most lamentable deeds of the revolution.

Piar made the arrests on his own authority, and possibly with the express or tacit consent of Bolívar. For, Piar was recognized in January as one of Bolívar's "generals" and Bolívar knew of his operations in the Guayana missions. Bolívar considered Piar's act expedient; he did not instigate any trial or cause Piar to conduct one. Fourteen unjustly imprisoned men died in three months as a result of the jail conditions. Certainly Piar was directly responsible for this, and Bolívar shared the responsibility, insofar as he was in command over Piar. Then, Bolívar, *after* these deaths and *aware* of Piar's thefts in the missions, raised Piar's rank, thus indicating that he had authority over Piar and that he approved. Now, in May, Bolívar by his own authority kept the remaining twenty priests and brothers in jail without trial and gave full evidence of his responsibility over them by ordering their removal to another prison. How and why a couple of ex-cowherds shot these men in cold blood can be debated forever, but the fact is that they were the appointed and approved officers of Piar and Bolívar. Consequently, since neither Piar nor Bolívar had any mandate from the people or from any government to take lands, to arrest, to imprison, to try, to execute, and since they so acted on their own initiative, they must be held guilty of violation of justice in all these respects.

Bolívar was by now quite hardened in the ways of a dictator. The time had come for him to force other caudillos into line or liquidate them. Piar was particularly in the way, refusing to yield

control of some of the missions, from whose produce Bolívar wished to finance his war. On July 26, 1817, Piar had parted with Bolívar and had established the headquarters for his raids at Upata. Bolívar remained at Angostura, where he was safest from Spanish attack and where he could control downriver traffic. The two had thus squared off, two bandits to the people of the region, snarling over the mission spoils.

Piar, in criticism of Bolívar government, asked for more democracy. Coming from him this could mean that he wanted a more equitable distribution of the spoils. He was a mulatto from Caracas and like the run of the mine caudillos abounding in Latin America of the time opposed centralization. Since the Indians of the missions had scattered to the woods to escape his and Bolívar's supervisors, he started his war on the whites, which can be interpreted to mean that he began taking properties from settlers from whom Bolívar hoped to get "revenues." On September 17, 1817, Bolívar ordered his arrest. This was made ten days later and he was brought to Angostura for trial. Bolívar appointed the judge and jurymen, who found Piar triable by a military council. Bolívar appointed his men to the council, which, of course, condemned Piar to death on October 15 and had him shot the following day.

Bolívar hastened to justify his act with a proclamation. This, besides being a warning to any who "aspired to the supreme command," as Bolívar said Piar had done, was blasphemous. The last part runs:

> Heaven has seen with horror this cruel parricide. Heaven delivered him to the vengeance of the laws. Heaven has permitted that a man who offended the divinity and the human race should no longer profane the earth, which could not tolerate him for a moment after his heinous crime.
>
> Soldiers! Heaven watches over your safety, and the Government which is your father alone, is ever awake for you. Your chief, who is your companion in arms, and who always at your head has shared your dangers and miseries, as well as your triumphs, has confidence in you. Be confident then in him, secure in that he loves you more than if he were your father, or your son.[60]

Here is your Bolívar on the eve of his rise to fame. He pronounced a judgment upon Piar for reasons which applied equally to himself. He identified himself with heaven and with the divinity. He considered himself justice itself. He, his government, the laws, the constitution, heaven, were all one to his perverted

[60] *Ibid.*, II, 88–89.

mind. At thirty-four his character was hardened in the dictator mold. Unfortunately, the mold was not broken and thrown away before his methods became the stock in trade of a thousand less conspicuous and less publicized imitators who have with his principles of action made shambles of cities and countries in Latin America through a long century. His slogan, eliminate or be eliminated, offered no opportunity for growth, but fastened on the helpless people a one party, one man, bayonet and bullet rule. This was Bolívar's religion—himself.

No redeeming feature appears in his character, no Catholic, no Christian principles in his personal or public life. His vanity, pride, anger, intolerance, and sexual aberrations became bywords. There is little evidence of any civic virtues, except some isolated statements and twaddle about education, liberty, and constitutional guarantees which he doled out on occasion for public consumption but upon which he rarely acted. Appointments to offices were made according to one ability, the ability to obey Bolívar. Public affairs were managed by whim. The public treasury became Bolívar's wallet, the courts became vindicators of his whims, the constitutions became elastic instruments of maladministration. As evidence of his crookedness, ineptness and criminality was added in his progress through Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, it is little wonder that his name was held in an opprobrium and hatred which continued for half a century after his death and even to the present in the minds of descendents of those whom he "liberated" or otherwise persecuted for his own gain and glory.

Several important steps had to be taken before Bolívar could reach such fame that no man would dare rise in criticism. To consolidate his position at Angostura, to control Páez in the west, to keep a commercial and munitions supply line open from the sea up the Orinoco, and above all to enlist the aid of Britain and the foreign legion. When he captured Angostura in July, 1817, he evacuated its population of eighteen hundred, including the clergy and bishop-elect.[61] The move solved a housing problem for his troops and exiles from Caracas, who were freed from rent. He instituted a system of forced labor. Desertions from his army were a constant problem. Royalist property was distributed by a

[61] *Ibid.*, II, 50–97. Lecuna in his very good work of putting together the details of the deeds of Bolívar at Angostura, naively assumes that Bolívar had authority on his side, although admitting that there was chaos in the army, that the chiefs whom he supposed to be under him were operating as individuals, and that the landowners did not subscribe to his rule.

tribunal of sequesters. By October this board was in a position to allot rewards to the servants of the republic from the sale of mission produce, from confiscated properties, and from spoils from ships (including two from the United States) taken by sea raiders. By his decree of October 10 the generals, chiefs, officials and soldiers each received a share according to rank from 25,000 pesos down to 500. The government, that is, Bolívar, reserved the right to grant bonuses without reference to rank for heroic services. What bonus was given to the chief hero by his three appointees is not clear. All exports and imports were in the hands of the government. In November, to show his authority over churchmen, he ordered the few remaining to meet to elect an ecclestiastic authorized to administer affairs in the place of the evicted bishop-elect.

By April of 1818 Bolívar had received another lesson in how not to conduct a campaign. The disastrous foray began after Bolívar had occupied Calabozo. Just beyond this town in the "Corner of the Bulls" a force of 3,000 Spanish troops completely routed the 1,900 insurgents. We need not delay on the rather ignominious part played by Bolívar in missing the battle, losing his horse and some of his regalia, and escaping on a sergeant's pony.[62] He got back to Angostura on June 5, 1818, with about two hundred followers. His defeat has been explained in various ways as owing to traitors, deserters, Páez's inefficiency, et cetera, but it remains as a monument of inept military leadership on Bolívar's part, who paid no attention to training, organization, equipment, munitions, support columns, and other items of warfare. Here the story of Bolívar might have ended if the foreign legionaries especially from Great Britain had not arrived to bring what he lacked in supplies and generalship.

VIII. Repudiation

Popular support and the semblance of authority for the revolt against Spain was growing in the colonies after the return of the absolutism of Ferdinand VII in 1815. Feelings against the crown had taken deep root around the Americans except in caudillo-ridden Venezuela, where even the absolutism of Spain seemed a lesser evil than the chaotic conditions engendered by the rival bands of insurgents. After the revolt in Spain in 1820 ushered in

62 *Ibid.*, II, 194–196.

the radicals, the support of the people of the Americas for the revolutionary Creole leaders grew swiftly, and hence lent more and more authority to the cause of emancipation. Moreover, beyond the political and economic aspects of the revolt against the iconoclastic Spanish Cortes, the Creole and Spanish Catholics not yet won over to the idea of emancipation fell into line with the revolutionaries. This explanation of the possible authority of Bolívar for his successful revolt, does not mean that he is any way suffered a change in his dictator character, or that he became a genius of organization, or leadership, or political science. He did, however, with the aid of amanuenses and other followers, exploit his flare for publicity.

Bolívar's official relations with the Holy See and his official relations with the prelates and clergy of the area now broken into the republics of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Panama, and Bolivia have been given ample notice by Pedro Leturia, Mary Watters and other writers easily found in Bolívar bibliographies. Coming from Bolívar and as official documents his writings on Church and State affairs are a key to what he was thinking at the moment. From 1821 when Bolívar's government enacted the wedge law suppressing all convents housing more than eight religious, the constitutional trend was to paralyze the churchmen, and his Neroism has continued to the present. Just after his victories at Boyacá and Carabobo, some eighty of the clergy had been exiled, an equal number had been executed or mistreated to death, and about forty remained in the new state, some willingly and others perforce. The Supreme Chief from time to time requested appointments for priests who subscribed to his dictatorship and were to him good priests. In 1824 the Congress passed a law declaring that the right to nominate candidates for vacant bishoprics was vested in the government, that is, Bolívar. This attempt to control the Church by controlling its manpower, one of a hundred made by upstart dictators, instigated kindred enactments all over the Americans where the privileges of the old Patronato Real were coveted as approval of this or that dictator's program.

The rising power of Santander and the anti-Clericals in Bogotá caused Bolívar to turn everywhere, even to bishops and priests, for support from 1825 to his downfall in 1830. Under threatening circumstances when his "glory" and his life were endangered, he called in pious phrases for a reform in morals, for religious instruction and sermons (especially such as might prevent attempts on

his life and power), and he spoke to priests and bishops as a child of the Church. A good example of his dictatorial docility is his letter [63] to Pope Leo XII, of November 7, 1828, when, after years of iron rule over churchmen, he found tottering the edifice which he was attempting to erect upon such flimsy principles as his untrained mind devised. In the letter he expressed in honeyed words his worry for the souls of the flock of Christ because of the scarcity of priests to minister to the spiritual needs. In this whimsy the Libertador Presidente forgot, of course, the part he had played in reducing priests, their ministries, and religious ideals to a minimum.

The wordy, Bolivarian edifice crumpled completely when the rival chiefs mastered his principles of conduct, sent him on his way, and proceeded to atomize central jurisdiction. It has long been the custom of professors, including this writer, to narrate to their classes the story of Bolívar's broken republic and the ingratitude of the Latin American people toward their emancipators. Why did none of the liberators win the hearts of his people? Why were liberators exiled or done to death? Now, from a character study of Bolívar in its religious aspects, the story must change and the answers to the question of ingratitude is a denial of time-honored suppositions. There was no republic, no democratic form of government, no tendency on Bolívar's part to trust the people. In his dictatorship and principles the people apparently saw what they did not want. It might even be argued that they revealed, instead of a lack of training in democracy as we have been telling classes, a high sense of democracy, since they did not want caudilloism, militarism or dictatorship and since they suffered no end for adhering to fundamental principles of democracy as expressed in our Bill of Rights. The inarticulate masses, not the Bolívars nor the military oligarchs, originated and have perpetuated the ideal of human rights. Hopefully, generation after generation, the people have flocked to the banners of leaders who gave promise of overthrowing dictatorship. Finally, the supposition that Bolívar liberated the people is true only to the extent that they were freed from Spain; otherwise their liberties were curtailed rather than enlarged, and particularly their deep-rooted religious liberties.

Concrete instances of his lack of stability and leadership abounded. Living openly with his mistress, Manuela, Bolívar offended public taste. In a stupid move to keep favor he insisted upon the attendance of clergymen when invited to his house. The Freema-

[63] *Cartas del Libertador*, VIII, 105–106.

sons and anti-Clericals, led by Santander, scoffed at his hypocracy and duplicity. Bolívar accused his "calumniators" of misuse of public funds, only to have the charge hurled back at himself. Colombia was bankrupt and had a large foreign debt. Peru, on the warpath against Bolivia, threatened to attack Colombia. Elsewhere his appointed "generals" were holding the reins in various cities. Separatism was in the air; looting, brigandage, and disorders were of daily occurance; the "navy" revolted. In February, 1828, Bolívar appointed a court with special powers to try traitors, that is, any political opponent of his. So in danger was his life in Bogotá that he left on March 14, 1828, for Tunja, then Bucaramanga, while a general assembly of delegates at Ocaña tore apart his constitution in favor of the counter-proposal of Santander. Some radicals proposed the impeachment and execution of Bolívar. It was ever thus through the years; his name became a symbol of strife.

Amid such hazards it is not surprising to find him writing on June 6, "Yes, my friend, I have converted myself to the way of heaven: I am repenting myself of my worldly conduct, tired of imitating Alexander. . . ."[64] It is said that he even lapsed into the practice of attending church services. Yet, when his men at arms again took control in Bogotá, he returned there in triumph. His courage restored by the presence of his loyal guns, he issued decrees making himself supreme dictator. By September 25 conspirators had arranged Bolívar's death trap. Because of Manuela's sleeplessness and, according to her own later account, her quick wit in telling him to jump out the window, he escaped. Un-nerved (or, as his worshippers say, sick in body and at heart over this ingratitude) he promptly resigned his presidency, but his followers forced him to stay, expressing their gratitude by executing all suspected of being party to the plot. Bolívar was enraged when his court thought it inexpedient to execute Santander.

Now that "Admiral" Padilla was executed, other caudillos were to be whipped into line. "General" Córdoba got himself murdered in an attempted revolt, some say by the orders of Bolívar, though his friend General Urdaneta denies the charge. Santander was exiled. However, this type of "gang" warfare could not long be carried on by Bolívar, when we consider the bad state of his health. The "usurper," as he was termed, finally retired from Bogotá on March 1, 1830. Thinking the assembly would summon him again

64 *Ibid.*, VII, 321.

to the presidency he was rudely shocked when a committee visited him on a farm outside the capital to inform him that he was not wanted as president or as resident of Colombia. The deputies voted him a pension for life abroad. He left Bogotá in May amid no public grief. Public opprobrium met him on the coast at Cartagena. He found his last bed in the home of a Spaniard near Santa Marta.

When the Bishop of Santa Marta, aware of Bolívar's mortal illness, visited him, the dying man, so the story goes, waved him away, but when he became certain that his death would be soon, he received the last Sacraments of the Church, December 10, 1830. His last will and testament, signed the same day, has given joy to some Catholic writers who see in it a profound profession of faith in the doctrines of the Catholic Church. However, we see no cause for regarding the introductory paragraph, composed according to form by a lawyer, as expressive of Bolívar's lifelong attitude toward religion. In fact, the pious sentences in which he professes "belief in the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, in whose faith and belief I have lived and profess I shall live until I die, as a true Catholic and Christian," could hardly have been composed or subscribed to by the fever-racked man. Still, in these hours before death, it were best to grant him the right to be considered as having been sincerely repentent, and leave to his Creator the judgment of his deeds and intentions.

In summary, the Bolívar of scores of his glorifiers, is a fictitious character, built around and to the proportions of a great event in American history—the emancipation from Spain. In reality he was a disliked, mistrusted and emotionally adolescent individual. He was no true Catholic, no true Mason, no Deist, no democrat, no statesman, no scholar, no humanitarian, no military genius. He followed no pattern of life characteristic of great men, but lived by the hour for himself, acting upon a self-fabricated set of flexible standards and rules. Objectively, he was in name Catholic, for he was baptized, was married, died and was buried according to the rites of the Church, but beyond this, he left very little evidence of any practical devotion to its dogmas or commandments and very much evidence of practices contrary to its precepts, teachings and counsels.

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Tit for Tat: A Novel of Social Criticism

I. The Novel

The first humanitarian novel on either side of the Atlantic to champion the cause of the miserable climbing-boys of England, *Tit for Tat: or, American Fixings of English Humanity. By a Lady from New Orleans, U. S.,* (1854), has been unjustly slighted, even misrepresented, by our literary historians and variously catalogued under "Anonymous," "Julia," "Matthew Estes," and "Marion Southwood" by our librarians.[1] Although the work passed through at least two English editions and four American,[2] it rests undisturbed on the shelves of a few libraries now that the social reform for which it battled has long since been achieved. Yet, as the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the under-privileged living brushes of English flues, this American novel deserves more respect and attention than it has as yet received.

Tit for Tat has been erroneously described as a pro-slavery novel, a mistake arising naturally enough by the binders' title on American editions, *Tit for Tat. A Reply to Dred.* In his engaging study, *The Southern Plantation,* Francis Pendleton Gaines listed it

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[1] The Harvard College Library uses "Anonymous"; the British Museum, "Julia," the signature in the dedication of the English editions; the Library of Congress, "Matthew Estes"; the New York Public Library, "Marion Southwood."

[2] English editions:
Tit for Tat; or, American Fixings of English Humanity. By a Lady from New Orleans, London: Clarke, Beeton & Company, 1854, 8vo. pp. 352. [John Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America from Its Discovery to the Present Time,* New York, 1934, XXV, 234.]
Tit for Tat; or, American Fixings of English Humanity. By a Lady, from New Orleans, U. S. London: Clarke and Beeton, 1855, pp. xii, 239. [*The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, 1881–1900,* Ann Arbor, 1946, XXVIII, 88.] Copy in the Boston Public Library Card Index has pp. xii, 344.

American editions:
Tit for Tat. A Novel. By a Lady of New Orleans, New York: Garret & Company; London: Clarke, Beeton & Company. c. 1856, 12 mo., pp. (2), iii, 356. [Sabin, p. 234.]
Tit for Tat. A Novel. By a Lady of New Orleans, 4th ed., New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, c. 1856, [The University of Minnesota Library Card Index.]
Orville A. Roorbach lists another copy as published by Garrett & Co. in 1857 in his *Addenda to the Bibliotheca Americana, a Catalogue of American Publications from May, 1855 to March, 1868,* New York, 1939, p. 230.

as one of several pro-slavery novels that carried the battle into the enemy's free country by

> depicting the sufferings of the poorer classes in the North or in England, suffering sometimes contrasted with the happiness of the Southern blacks, sometimes standing alone in its woe. . . . Some of the novels which omit entirely plantation background, centering interest in foreign wretchedness are L. B. Chase's *English Serfdom and American Slavery* (New York, 1854), Marion Southwood's *Tit for Tat* (New York and London, 1856), S. H. Elliot's *New England Chattels* (New York, 1858), and, most remarkable of its class, W. T. Thompson's *The Slave Holder Abroad* (Phila., 1860), a labored compilation by a Georgia humorist demonstrating the profligacy, immorality, and brutality that marked English society.[3]

Mr. Gaines was correct in describing *Tit for Tat* as "centering interest in foreign wretchedness," but Claude Reherd Flory was nodding when he placed "M. Southwood, *Tit for Tat, a Reply to Dread* (1856)" with some fifteen other American novels penned in protest to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as pretending "to picture southern life 'as it is,' . . . the pictures are almost uniformly roseate and romantic; the argument required it."[4] But *Tit for Tat* is not a pro-slavery novel any more than *Moby Dick* is a treatise on the capture of whales. In fact, the author definitely takes an anti-slavery position:

> . . . let us hope that the reader will not draw the inference that we are an advocate of slavery in all or any of its vicissitudes. No, reader, we have no love for it; and as heartily as we espouse independence of character, so we despise the hypocritical sycophant who, with his sham plilanthropy, would conceal his own guilt. We readily admit the many evils incident to the institution of slavery; we regret the perplexity it now places us in; we would that some wise head devised a plan for its emancipation that could be carried into effect without endangering our social system. Nor do we come forward as apologists for the many evils incident to such a system, and which too often have their origin in the malpractices of foreigners, and Northerners who seek fortunes in the South, but have neither sympathy with the slave nor respect for the interests of the State.[5]

By classifying *Tit for Tat* as one of many pro-slavery works of fiction, literary historians have prevented its being recognized for what it really is: an attack in the form of a novel, based on authenticated source material, on the iniquitious practice of employing

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[3] Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation, a Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition*, New York, 1924, 45–47.

[4] Claude Reherd Flory, *Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792 to 1900*, Philadelphia, 1936, 51–53.

[5] *Tit for Tat*, 1st Am. ed. Unless otherwise noted, references will be to this edition.

small boys to sweep English flues in flagrant disregard of parliamentary acts forbidding such work.

Smarting under the hypocrisy of social and political leaders in England, weeping ostentatiously crocodile tears at the plight of the American Negroes picking cotton on southern plantations,—for English mills—and vexed at the triumphant tour of Mrs. Stowe through Scotland and England in the spring of 1853, the author, in protest to the smug interference in American affairs adopted by the adherents of "Tom-mania," determined to give the British a rebuke by playing off *Tit,* the climbing-boy, against *Tat,* the Negro slave. Although Blake, Montgomery, Hood, Lamb, Edgeworth, and Dickens had imaginatively depicted the woes of the little sootikins in poetry and verse no extended picture of their servitude had been romanticized until the publication of *Tit for Tat,*[6] which with bitter invective and lashing scorn upbraided the "hypocritical sycophants" with their "sham philanthropy." While they were weeping over the "highly-coloured pages of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' " toddlers of four and five years of age were burrowing through zig-zag flues to scrape out soot or extinguish fires in the great mansions of the West End of London. Forced up the stinking flues by callous, often drunken, masters who thrust awls in their tender bottoms and pins in the soles of the feet, the sweep-boys acquired running sores, over which saltpetre was rubbed to make them hard. Their bodies unwashed for months led to the dreaded Chimney-Sweep's Cancer; their soft bones turned crooked from carrying heavy bags of soot; their empty bellies, unprotected sides, and restless sleep in soot-begrimed cellars brought to many hacking consumption. Sold by their starving parents for a few shillings or taken from the alms-houses, the miserable little fellows were doomed to lead the lives of social outcasts, if they survived suffocation in the flues or fires on the hearths. These were the subjects that *Tit for Tat* presented to shame into silence the voluble partisans of Mrs. Stowe.

The English presses, according to the author, heaped "unmitigated abuse" on the novel for so impudently exposing the glaring enormity of the wicked practice of using boys as animated scrapers.[7] The staid, highly respected *Athenaeum,* on January 20, 1855, con-

[6] *Tit for Tat* is the first novel to present a realistic picture of the miseries of the climbing-boys. Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies* is a charming idyll that glosses over Tom's sufferings by transforming him into a sea urchin, thereby losing any propoganda value.

[7] *Tit for Tat,* ii. Except in *The Athenaeum,* I have found no critical reviews in English or American periodicals.

veniently ignoring the smiling tributes it had recently paid to Mrs. Stowe's abolitionary works, frowningly denounced *Tit for Tat* for "the misuse of Fiction as applied to social abuses."[8] Perhaps, the *Athenaeum* was really irritated that an American dared to point out the defect in a society that permitted such barbaric cruelty to go unchecked.

II. British Origins and Editions

British interference in American social problems concerning Negro slavery came to definite action in 1853 when the Duchesses of Argyll, Bedford, and Sutherland, the Countess of Shaftesbury, Vis-countess Palmerston, Mrs. Tennyson, Mrs. Dickens and a score of other outstanding ladies of London's social, philanthropic, and literary circles, met at Stafford House, town residence of the Duke of Sutherland,[9] to draw up, under Lord Shaftesbury's humane guidance, "An Affectionate and Christian Address of Many Thousands of Women of Great Britain and Ireland to Their Sisters, the Women of The United States of America," wherein they besought their cherished American sisters to be active in the fight to abolish Negro slavery. This noble proposal was not received with the sympathy and understanding that its proponents had intended. It boomeranged on the noble and kind-hearted ladies who had instigated its conception, as well as on the thousands of their British signatories. Mrs. Tyler, wife of the ex-President, replied on behalf of indignant American womanhood in the South that the kettle was calling the pot black:

> "Leave it," she said, "to the women of the South to alleviate the sufferings of the dependents, while you take care of your own. The negro of the South lives sumptuously, in comparison with a hundred thousand of your white population in London."[10]

Mrs. Tyler's outspoken rebuttal did not quench the thirst for retaliation. A decade later Lord Shaftesbury was confessing to the House of Lords:

> I have received from America at various times letters from persons rebuking me for the part which I have taken, and which, with the blessing

[8] *The Athenaeum*, No. 1421, January 20, 1855, 80.

[9] From a letter in *The Times*, August 7, 1834, it appears that the Duke of Sutherland was interested in the cause of abolishing the use of sweep-boys by having the chimneys of Stafford House adapted for sweeping machines.

[10] Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.*, London, 1886, II, 438.

of God, I always will take, in favour of the extinction of slavery—rebuking me and at the same time asserting that a state of things exists in England with regards to young children ten times worse than anything which exists in relation to negro children in any part of South America.[11]

A more powerful protest than batches of letters denouncing the officiousness of British womanhood appeared in *Tit for Tat,* published in 1854 by Clarke, Beeton and Company, the same firm that had brought out the first pirated English edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

In the dedication of *Tit for Tat,* dated New Orleans, 1854, the author not only scornfully derides the proposal of the British ladies but also sees in the homage paid throughout the United Kingdom to Mrs. Stowe on her heralded march from Glasgow to London an affront to Southern aristocracy:

> The insult offered to us, as Proprietors of the Southern States, by the manner in which Mrs. Beecher Stowe and her vaunted "Uncle Tom" were received in England, as well as by the Memorial of the British Ladies, instigated myself and a few more proprietors to achieve something more than an immediate reply to that memorial. It determined us to watch for our opportunity of unmistakably showing up to the world, in their true colours, the real worth and character of all that British enthusiasm that "Uncle Tom" called forth across the Atlantic.
>
> However abundantly the English aristocracy may choose to moisten their French cambrics over the tinsel pages of an American romance, the facts contained in the following pages will prove how much more ready the Britishers are to shed tears over our faults than to attempt the more Christian correction of their own.
>
> Whatever the defects of our peculiar institutions may be, the following pages will prove to the Northerners of the Union that the errors of their British friends far exceed ours at this very hour, by the confession of their own magistrates. . . .
>
> Whenever a sad tale of the murder and oppression of our citizens is told in our Senate, we do not receive the humiliating and inflicting intelligence with roars of mirth and shouts of laughter, nor reject, by a majority of two to one, any measures to protect the persons and rights of free-born whites, merely because they are poor.[12]

Then, after excoriating the callousness of such champions of liberty in the Commons as Cobden, Bright, Roebuck, Spenser Walpole, and Spooner, "the strait-laced champion of the Established Church," for refusing to help the friendless sweep-boys, the torrent concludes with the warning:

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[11] Thomas C. Hansard, *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time,* London, 1863, 3rd Ser. CLXXII, 1337.

[12] *Tit for Tat,* English ed., 1855, ix-x.

After this, let the British intermeddlers refer with censure, if they dare, to the domestic institutions of our Southern States. When they next criticize our Fugitive Slave Law, we shall understand the full measure of their hypocrisy, and have our answer ready.[13]

This chauvinistic declaration of battle is signed "Julia."

Following the author's dedication is a letter, dated London, May 21, 1854, addressed to "My dear Mrs. * *," and signed "Stars and Stripes." "Stars and Stripes" describes how, sitting under the Speaker's Gallery in the Commons on the night of the second reading of a measure to regulate more stringently the trade of chimney-sweeping than the existing Act of 1840, he observed the majority of the members gave no attention to the impassioned pleadings of such forceful speakers as Liddell, Keating, and Ackland, who pointed out that the little boys faced atrocities

as horrible as any that these Britishers ever wept over in the highly-coloured pages of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." . . . the buying and selling of British children at five shillings a-head—the roasting them alive—the boiling them alive—and the suffocating them—these horrors were received with roars of laughter; while members were heard to say to one another on the ministerial side of the House—

"We don't care for their sweeping-boys. Happen what may, we are not going to have our houses burnt down."[14]

The story itself, based on material found in the *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the expediency or inexpediency of the Regulations contained in the Chimney Sweepers' Regulation Act Amendment Bill, printed June 7, 1853,* and from other equally reliable sources,[15] placed in the Appendix, has as hero, Eustatius (Totty), four-year-old Earl of Hopemore, who, soon after the action starts, is stolen from the London residence of his loving father, the proud Marquis of Hardheart. His rich clothes replaced by filthy rags, his golden curls cropped from his cherubic head, the little earl is flung into the soot cellar of a Manchester tenement where he shares a bed of soot-sacks with a boy dying of small-pox:

Through all that night the little earl continued to groan, and cry, and sob. Alas! no one attended to him. Whether he lived or died seemed a matter of perfect indifference to everyone in the den into which he

[13] *Ibid.*, xii.
[14] *Ibid.*, xvi. The Bill was lost by a majority of 112 *Noes* to 39 *Ayes*.
[15] The character of the cruelly-indifferent Marquis of Hardheart was drawn from Lord Beaumont; Peter Hall and William Hood were the names of benevolent friends of the climbing-boys.

had fallen; and when the early beams of the sun shot down into that hideous cellar, the poor child was still awake, groaning beneath violent pains in the back and loins, suffering under a dreadful nausea, his skin and throat parched with drought, and every now and then making futile efforts to vomit.[16]

A veterinarian called in to examine the two boys asks Mother Redcap, the crone who supplied them with bread and water, why she could not take better care for their welfare. She replies:

Poor folks like us must get our livelihood; and if the gentlefolks will not have their chimneys swept by this newfangled machinery, why, in course, they must have boys; and if we must have boys, they must rough it a bit. In a dirty business like ours what can you expect? Be we do wash the boys after every chimney, eighteen or twenty a day? and if they bean't to be washed, where are they to sleep except in such a cellar as this? Why you ill-mannered old brute! you are only fit to attend cows, you bean't; [sic] coming here snacking us with these poor children's deaths! Why don't you go and snack the magistrates?—them's the villains. Why don't you go and snack the rich mill-owners? them's the scoundrels, not us poor bodies. It is them rich folks that won't have their chimneys swept by machinery, and will have them climbed by boys, that does the harm and murders the children.[17]

Since his unconscious companion could take no nourishment, little Totty had for himself the wine bottle full of Epsom salts diluted with water and a little muriatic acid, and a few crusts of bread that might have been gathered from the kennel above their window. No sooner had the dying boy's jaw fallen in death than the author asks:

What think you, citizens of America, of the humanity of the Britishers, who can give up their children by the thousand to be systematic victims of such a trade?—a trade wholly unnecessary to exist at all, yet, if allowed to exist in climbing children, then of necessity involving such hideous details.[18]

In the room above Totty's cellar, Tom Burman, the chimney-sweeper who had kidnapped the little earl, is furious that Totty cannot be as assistance to him for some weeks because of the weakness from his severe illness. He grumbles to Mother Redcap " 'Well, then, I s'pose there's no help for it but buying another.' "[18] His concern over the necessary outlay of five or six shillings for another apprentice is lessened when the old hag points out the advantages of a boy over a machine:

16 *Tit for Tat*, 94.
17 *Ibid.*, 96.
18 *Ibid.*, 97.

"Instead of standing by the hearth, with your hands in your pockets, while the boy sweeps the chimney, look at the hard work of one of them 'ere long machines a-working up and down the chimney at every house you go to!"[19]

Burman's new boy, Samuel Whitt, was so small that he would have sold for more than the five shillings Burman paid his master for him, if he had not been in ill health. Totty noticed with horror, as a sleepy cook was raking the red hot ashes out of a grate one morning, how emaciated and bruised his fellow sweep appeared to be as he made ready for his first ascent under the direction of his latest master. Taking off his shirt, lest it should crumble in the elbow of the flue and prevent his moving, and putting on a filthy sooty cap over his head and face, he

entered the chimney with his brush, exhibiting as he did so his neck covered with scars and bruises, his elbows all raw and bleeding, and all down the course of his back, where the projections of the spine stood plainly out from long starvation, a mass of bleeding scars presented themselves, from constant collision with the rough and jagged sides of the chimneys. The soot, of course, impregnated all his festering and bleeding wounds.[20]

As usual, Burman sat on the fender, his arms crossed in idleness, until the tired boy came out from behind the dirty baize curtain stretched across the fireplace to prevent the soot from escaping into the room. Then, collecting his money, he commanded the boys to gather the soot-bags toegther and set off with them for the next client. After cleaning eleven chimneys without any rest and without adequate nourishment, Sam was so exhausted that Burman had to half carry him into the cellar where he threatened fiendish tortures if the two boys did not screen the soot. As Sam feebly picked out the cinders, Burman was guzzling gin at the corner pub. Such a scene offered a target for another attack on British legislators:

And this is the system which the aristocracy of England, the rich peers, the rich magistrates, the rich mill-owners, the rich Mr. George Garr Glyn, M.P., Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Roebuck, M.P., Sir Benjamin Hall, M.P., Sir John Shelley, M.P., Mr. Alexander Hastie, M.P., Mr. Edward Miall, M.P., Mr. Phinn, M.P., and other strenuous supporters of liberty, are upholding by their votes in the year of grace 1854! Think of this, English constituencies! How proud you ought to be of such members![21]

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19 *Ibid.*, 101.
20 *Ibid.*, 120.
21 *Ibid.*, 124.

Destiny did not allow Samuel Whitt to sweep many flues for Burman. One day in scraping the soot from the sides of a flue still hot from a recent fire, the puny lad became fixed in an elbow. In vain his master and a carpenter tried to extricate him until finally Burman climbed up the flue as far as his great bulk would permit and

> grasped in his relentless paws the little, slender, emaciated legs of this poor child; then hanging the whole of his herculean body with its full weight to them, and finding that the poor, delicate child was not moved by it, he sung out, "Now, hang on me, below there, carpenter."
>
> Quick at the word, the carpenter, a full-sized man, stepping up into the chimney and catching hold of Tom's foot, hung to him.
>
> "Oh! oh! oh!" screeched the poor little creature, torn by this terrific violence, bleeding, bruised, and mangled by the sharp edges of the bricks, between which he had stuck.[22]

A few hours later in great agony Samuel Whitt died, as Burman was swilling down gin and cursing his misfortune in losing so many boys.

Burman is on the point of training Totty to climb flues when a kind-hearted Quaker, William Wood, persuades him to use a machine which he loans him. Wood's interest in Totty, however, makes Burman apprehensive lest Totty should inadvertently betray the fact of his kidnapping; so he decamps one night with child and machine. When wealthy Lady Burmeister refuses to allow him to use a machine in her multi-flued country house, Burmeiser disgustedly tosses the child-saving device into a pond and bargains for nine-year-old Harry Redmain. As Totty accompanies Harry from house to house, they meet the unhappy son of a dissenting minister, who apprenticed the boy to a sweep and forbade him to attend Sunday School lest, by learning how to read and write, he become discontented with his trade. They watch a number of men pull the burned body of a sweep-boy from a boiler where he had been overcome by poisonous gasses, and they learn that his cruel master is cleared on technical grounds of the charge of manslaughter. They share the same roof as a master-sweep who suffers the agonies of his trade, cancer of the scrotum, caused by going for months without washing. In time, Harry runs away from Burman, and then Totty is given his first lesson in ascending flues. Beaten and kicked, until in desperation he seeks refuge in the dark, evil-appearing, stinking flue, he is forced to scramble up a few feet as Burman viciously thrusts a sharp awl in the boy's bottom. Unused

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22 *Ibid.*, 139.

to the knack of gaining leverage by depending upon his elbows and knees, the half-crazed lad, unable to inch his way any further, whimpers and shrieks as Burman jabs time and again the sharp instrument into his tender flesh. Just as the ferocious master is lighting a fire on the hearth, the approved method of forcing sweep-boys to climb, a constable, having heard Totty's cries, breaks in the door and arrests Burman on charges of attempted manslaughter.

The last quarter of the story, from the courtroom scene, where Burman is sentenced to transportation and Totty is placed in the custody of Lady Charlotte D'Auberville and her lovable daughter, Gwinnethlyn, becomes a stereotyped sentimental romance. Totty, educated at a good public school, qualifies for a midshipman's position in the merchant marine. In Russia he steals plans of secret fortifications, which he delivers to the British Prime Minister, and becomes at once a celebrity in London's drawing-rooms. Of course, he falls in love with beautiful Gwinnethlyn whose mother consents to their marriage only after a most unusual concatenation of astonishing adventures has revealed that Totty is the son of the wealthy and powerful Marquis of Hardheart. The final paragraph of the story returns to the flues as the author, more or less paraphrasing the "Affectionate and Christian Address," admonishes British readers:

> . . . you are called upon by the ties of humanity and the command of Heaven to discharge your own individual responsibility in this matter, before you are entitled to say one word to your brothers in the United States against their slave institutions. Free your own slaves first from the chimneys of your own firesides. Man, woman, or child, you are bound at once to go forth into society, and never to cease your aid, assistance, and exertions, until you have removed for ever from the soil of Britain the disgrace and the curse of her present system of climbing-boys![23]

III. American Editions

Following the general practice of American writers who did not wish to travel to the United Kingdom to make on British soil an application for copyrighting their works to protect their royalties, the author of *Tit for Tat* gave the manuscript first to a London firm for publication and two years later to an American. In the first American edition, brought out by the New York firm of

[23] *Ibid.*, 348.

Garret and Company, that had taken out copyright in 1856,[24] we find that in addition to a change of title, *Tit for Tat. A Novel. By a Lady of New Orleans,* the dedication and letter by "Stars and Stripes" have given way to a preface, signed "The Author" and dated at White Sulphur Springs, August, 1856. Perhaps by oversight, the initial "J" is retained at the conclusion of the story in the American edition.

The preface explains to the American public how the author happened to select the English climbing-boy as a subject for a humanitarian novel to be used as a retaliatory measure against British meddlesome interference in American affairs and how ungraciously the work was received by the English reviews:

> The year of grace, Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-four, will be memorable in England, for the breaking out of the Uncle Tom fever. A chronic ophthalmia overspread the vision of English Humanitarians, who, look at what they might, could see nothing but specks of black. They were haunted by black spectres. In all the races of the Earth, none were worthy of pity unless its color was black.
>
> The Black fever was at its height, when I took it kindly. The English, acclimated to the home disease, caught it from America. I, an American, was infected in England.
>
> There is a race of beings, by the initiated, facetiously denominated "chummies," which exists only in humane Britain. Outside barbarians call them chimney-sweeps. This race is black, not from blood, but from soot.
>
> I beheld specimens of these crippled, distorted, bleeding bits of humanity, and, at sight, was taken down by a sympathetic fever. In my paroxysms, I would exclaim—"Oh! ye Dukes and Duchesses! ye Lords and Commons! ye Priests and Laymen! who lift up your hands and let fall your tears at the woes of Uncle Tom, thousands of miles away; heard ye never the wailing cry of the poor 'chummy' who weeps daily on your thresholds? Oh! Sutherland House! Oh! Exeter Hall! whose walls reverberate with shrieks for freedom to the African; have ye no echoes for the wretched children who shriek for relief from torture on your hearthstones?
>
> In my lucid intervals I reflected that the morning plaint of the chimney-sweep was uttered at an hour when philanthropists sleep. That philanthropists never hear it. That they were ignorant of its existence. They shall remain ignorant no longer, thought I, so I wrote my book.
>
> The public was grateful, so were my publishers; for the book sold. I have always thought the philanthropists were the same, but they never

[24] A letter of December 8, 1949, from the Reference Department, Rare Books Division, Library of Congress, states that apparently no separate title page for the American edition of *Tit for Tat* was deposited for copyright in 1855, 1856, or 1857. The title is, however, recorded in a register kept by the Court Clerk of the U. S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, under the date of October 7, 1856, and gives Garret & Co. as proprietors.

told me so. They were too busy, at the moment, with Mrs. Stowe and the Black Swan. . . .[25]

Having satirized the ruling classes of England for hypocritical near-sightedness to the misery in their own chimneys, as they peered across three thousand miles of ocean to the Uncle Toms on the plantations in the South, the author preceeded to castigate the English press for the severe drubbing given the novel and for denying the facts "although in every case they are verified by official documents and reports." In fact, the English press, like the philanthropists, "could see no wrongs to poor humanity, save such as were inflicted outside Her Majesty's dominions." Far different was the reception of the entire press of Scotland which endorsed all the statements, appreciated the motives for writing the work, and approved the effort of bringing to the public's attention "a righteous cause," the abolition of the employment of climbing-boys.

IV. Authorship

The two contenders[26] for the authorship of *Tit for Tat* can muster up a sufficient array of impressive authorities from catalogue cards and bibliographical studies to make his or her claim a most vexing one to settle. For instance, Matthew Estes, acknowledged author of *A Defence of Negro Slavery, as It Exists in the United States,*[27] 1846, has at his back the catalogues of the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, and the Howard Memorial Library

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[25] *Tit for Tat*, i-ii. The statement contains several inaccuracies:

a. Public acclaim of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in England appears to have reached its zenith during the triumphant tour of Mrs. Stowe in the late spring of 1853 when she met the Black Swan, Miss Greenfield, a freed Negress from Alabama.

b. Negro climbing-boys were used extensively in the South and competed with white in parts of the North as late as 1885.

c. Lord Shaftesbury from 1840 to 1875 fought in Parliament to enact legislation to abolish the employment of sweep-boys.

[26] *The Athenaeum*, on February 17, 1855 claimed to have proof from the U. S. Legation at London that an Englishman authored *Tit for Tat* and had approached Publisher Beeton for aid in securing the services of an American attaché to write enough of the manuscript to secure an American copyright. His request was refused on the grounds that the work was frankly abusive of England. In the next issue (February 24) *The Athenaeum* was forced to admit that it had received a letter from "F. C. Adams" stating that he was not the author of *Tit for Tat*, as *The Athenaeum* had asserted. Because of its mistaken attribution, the periodical, according to the preface in *Tit for Tat*, was compelled to make a public apology and pay costs in an action for slander.

[27] Matthew Estes, *A Defence of Negro Slavery, as It Exists in the United States*, Montgomery: Press of the *Alabama Journal*, 1846.

of New Orleans, as well as listing in Donald E. Thompson's *A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets in the T. P. Thompson Collection of the University of Alabama Library,*[28] and C. L. McVoy's *A Bibliography of Fiction by Louisianians and on Louisiana Subjects.*[29] Marion Southwood, recognized authoress of *"Beauty and Booty," the Watchword of New Orleans,*[30] can claim the reassuring catalogues of the New York Public Library, the Columbia University Library, the Ohio State University Library, the University of Minnesota Library, the Princeton University Library, and the Newberry Library, with references in Munroe Work's *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America*[31] and in the previously mentioned histories of Francis Pendleton Gaines and Claude Reherd Flory.

Although the forces on each side appear impregnable, they have many hidden flaws as the result of too much interdependence. A strong blow in the direction of the authenticity of the ascription upheld by the Library of Congress could easily topple over the adherents of the Estes' faction; but just as easily might the Southwood partisans be confused if their champion, John Sabin, were declared unreliable.

The Estes' contenders have based their decisions upon the judgment of the Library of Congress inasmuch as there is a general practice in dealing with anonymous and pseudonymous works for librarians and scholars to rely upon its opinions. In ascribing *Tit for Tat* to Matthew Estes, the Processing Department of the Library of Congress cites for its authority an undated report in its files "from the late William Beers . . . for many years librarian of the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, and a careful bibliographer."[32] The Howard Memorial Library, where Mr. Beers carried on his research investigations, catalogues its copy of *Tit for Tat* under Estes because it follows the attribution of the Library of Congress.

Marion Southwood's mavericks, for the most part, follow the reference in John Sabin's *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America;*

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[28] Donald E. Thompson, *A Bibliography of Louisiana Books and Pamphlets in the T. P. Thompson Collection of the University of Alabama Library,* Montgomery, 1947.

[29] C. L. McVoy, *A Bibliography of Fiction by Louisianians and on Louisiana Subjects,* Baton Rouge, 1935.

[30] Marion Southwood, *"Beauty and Booty," the Watchword of New Orleans. By Marion Southwood, a Lady of New Orleans,* New York, 1867.

[31] Monroe Work, *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America,* New York, 1928.

[32] Letter, dated November 9, 1949, from the Processing Department, Library of Congress.

however, it must be noted that Sabin places *Tit for Tat* under title and not under author, whereas he lists *"Beauty and Booty"* under Southwood and *A Defence* under Estes. But he infers that Southwood authored *Tit for Tat* by pointing out that "Lady of New Orleans" was the pseudonym adopted by Marion Southwood and employed by her on the title page of *"Beauty and Booty."*

Sabin is not alone in crediting "Lady of New Orleans" as Marion Southwood's pseudonym. William Cushing in *Initials and Pseudonyms* has Southwood, Marion. A lady of New Orleans. An American writer of the day,"[33] and Halkett and Laing in their *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* have " 'Lady (a) of New Orleans'—Marion Southwood."[34]

A painstaking search of biographies, bibliographies, and literary histories and dozens of letters sent to libraries and historical societies and municipal offices in New Orleans and Columbus, Mississippi, have yielded nothing about the life of Marion Southwood and only a meager account of Matthew Estes, nor have queries published in such widely read periodicals as *Notes and Queries* and *American Notes and Queries* brought forth any further information. We know that the Estes family in America was founded by a Matthew Estes of Dover, England, who settled in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1676. One of his descendants may have been the Dr. M. Estes, mentioned in Lipscomb's *History* as having served the [Christian] Church of Columbus, Mississippi, every Sabbath "when there was no ordained preacher to officiate."[35] The *Library of Southern Literature* very briefly notes that Matthew Estes "resided at Columbus, Miss., and wrote *A Defence of Negro Slavery in the United States* (Montgomery, Ala., 1846)."[36]

A comparison of Estes' *Defence* with the anonymous *Tit for Tat* leads me to conclude that the two works did not come from the same pen. As a firm pro-slavery man, Estes explains in his introduction that he has been induced to express his views on the subject of slavery "from a conviction of their truth, and from a desire to contribute something towards removing the errors that exist in the public mind, upon this subject."[37] By avoiding "harsh epithets"

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[33] William Cushing, *Initials and Pseudonyms; a Dictionary of Literary Disguises*, New York, 1888, 284.

[34] Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, Edinburgh, 1926, I, 184.

[35] W. L. Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi during the Nineteenth Century*, Birmingham, 1909, 111.

[36] *Library of Southern Literature*, New Orleans, 1910, XIV, 139.

[37] Estes, i.

and by placing the subject "upon the grounds of reason alone," he has abstained from "an appeal to the passions." After expounding upon such topics as Slavery among the Jews, Slavery in the Light of Christianity, African Slavery, and Southern Slavery, he pontificates that slavery may be upheld on historical, religious, moral, and economic grounds. England's opposition to slavery, he decided, is based on selfish not philanthropic motives. In the same strain as the later pro-slavery fiction writers of the 1850's, Estes notes how visitors to the South always remark that the slaves are "contended, happy, light-hearted, and full of amusement," far happier than the poor whites in the Northern mills. Furthermore, they are better off than the over-taxed and under-fed masses in England where a standing army keeps them in subjection. By his Christian forbearance of using harsh expressions, of arousing his readers' emotions, and of appealing to their non-rational responses, Estes has turned out a dull, ineffectual sermon, based principally upon doubtful historical conclusions.

On the other hand, the author of *Tit for Tat* was no advocate of slavery and was anxious to see it abolished. Nor did this unknown author hesitate, in the fight to put an end to the employment of sweep-boys, to arouse the readers' blood pressures by such devices as hurling sarcasm and irony at the heads of reactionary legislators, or depicting tear-provoking scenes founded on actual case-histories, or exhorting a whole nation to slough off its evil at once. Matthew Estes could no more have changed his style, even if he had changed his whole concept of the righteousness of slavery, than as a preacher he would have attempted to hide his manly figure behind a feminine pesudonym. How he would have been laughed at in his pulpit in the Columbus church if his parishioners had ever learned that he had signed himself as "Julia" or "Lady of New Orleans."

"Beauty and Booty" has far more in common with *Tit for Tat* than Estes' labored work. A hasty reading of the introduction of *"Beauty and Booty,"* however, casts doubt whether Marion Southwood wrote both since she states:

> 'Tis the first time, and, I am fully persuaded in my own mind, it will be the last, that my name will appear before the public.[38]

Yet this denial of her name having been before the public earlier than 1867 does not preclude her having written *Tit for Tat,* which

[38] *"Beauty and Booty,"* 11.

appeared with a pseudonym. In fact, she may have found that the anonymity of her first work was a blessing that the second did not have; consequently, she determined, hereafter, to retire behind the cloak of her pseudonym. The motive for writing *"Beauty and Booty"* came from a strong outside force, as strong as that which gave life to *Tit for Tat*: retaliation. Burning with a desire to shout forth the injustice and corruptness of the rule of General Butler in New Orleans, Marion Southwood gathered together her papers to describe "our season of affliction in New Orleans, while we were blockaded, and while General Butler was 'Commander-in-chief of the Department of the Gulf. "[39]

With vitriol for ink and a scapel for a pen, Marion Southwood angrily dashed off a narrative of her personal experiences in New Orleans when General Butler ruled over it with iron-gloved hand. Her assertions for many of the callous regulations and confiscatory demands of the scheming Yankees were backed by copies of official communications, general orders from military headquarters, newspaper excerpts, and messages of the common council. Just as the British legislators and philanthropists were the targets for the sarcastic thrusts in *Tit for Tat,* so General Butler and his staff received the ironical cuts and thrusts in *"Beauty and Booty."* Butler, his face red from drinking too freely of *"molasses and water,"* was Simon Legree incarnate:

> Who can read that delightful work, entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and not recognize our "arch fiend tormentor" in the description of Mr. Simon Legree. We can but imagine, as Mrs. Stowe hailed [sic] from Massachusetts, that she must have had him in her mind's eye.[40]

Lacking the organized plan of *Tit for Tat, "Beauty and Booty,"* nevertheless, has a swing and sincerity that carries the reader over much irrelevant material, so carelessly inserted that the writer's haste to get along with publication of her and her fellow townsmen's woes is very apparent.

These two works, the reminiscences of captured New Orleans and the story of England's climbing-boys, share a similarity of style: the same use of italics for emphasis, the same fondness for displaying French phrases, the same delight in frequent apostrophes, the same pleasure in sarcastic diatribes and ironic understatements, and the same nervous fluency in sentence structure. Also, they both employ contemporary source materials; and they both were

[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*, 213

published in the heart of the enemy's territory, *Tit for Tat* in England, later New York, and *"Beauty and Booty"* in New York.

Despite the influential decision of the Library of Congress, which, after all, was based only on the unsubstantiated report of William Beer, it would seem that Marion Southwood has a better claim to the authorship of *Tit for Tat* than Matthew Estes. Certainly it is not likely that a gospel preacher would for his second novel decide to use such a feminine pseudonym as "Lady of New Orleans," whereas Marion Southwood employed it in conjunction with her own name in her first publicly acknowledged work. Next, a comparison between Estes' *Defence* and *Tit for Tat* reveals a gulf in the use of material, in style, and in attitude toward slavery; on the other hand, a comparison between *Tit for Tat* and Southwood's *"Beauty and Booty"* shows a decided similarity in style, in employing contemporary material for interest, and in fondness for satire. Finally, the attack on Mrs. Stowe in *Tit for Tat* bespeaks more the attitude of an irritated woman than a man who has piously expressed a desire to abstain from an "appeal to the passions."

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Editor's Note. Anyone wishing to read more from the pen of Professor Phillips upon the history of climbing boys will find the following references of particular interest and profit: *England's Climbing Boys, A History of the Long Struggle to Abolish Child Labor in Chimney-Sweeping,* Publication Number 5 of The Kress Library of Business and Economics, Harvard School of Business Administration, Soldiers Field, Boston, Massachusetts, 1949; "The Chimney Sweeper's Friend and Climbing Boy's Album," Part 5, Volume VI of the *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society,* Sheffield, England; "Two Seventeenth-Century Flue-Fakers, Toolers, and Rampsmen," in *Folk-Lore,* LXII, June, 1951; "The Clean Conscience of a Dirty Sweep," in *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* July, 1951; "Climbing Boys of Scotland," in *The Scots* Magazine," September, 1951.

Viceroy Toledo and the University of San Marcos

Francisco de Toledo, fifth viceroy of Peru (1569-1581), has many claims to fame. The list of his accomplishments as an administrator is impressive. His strong rule marks the end of more than three decades of bloodshed and disorder in Peru as the *conquistadores* butchered first the Indians and then one another over the spoils of the conquest. His legal code systematized the administration of the colony, and under his watchful eye taxes and tribute were more efficiently collected. He carried out a program for Indian labor which, though harsh by modern standards, put definite legal limits to Spanish cupidity. At the head of colonial troops he fostered explorations and enlarged the area of Spanish control. His interest in providing roads, bridges, and internal security gave an important stimulus to growing trade and industry.[1]

On the other hand, the viceroy has his critics, both in his day and ours. No one who proceeded with such vigorous initiative could possibly have escaped criticism. Nevertheless, some of the strictures seem justified. Toledo rode roughshod over all opposition to his authority which, though broad by definition, he was inclined to stretch to its absolute limits, and beyond. He tried to silence all opposition by the clergy who spoke out against his Indian program of forced labor and the theological grounds on which he attempted to support it.[2] His heavy hand fell upon priests and friars who tried to defend their freedom against the claims

[1] The standard biographies of Toledo are, Roberto Levillier, *Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Perú, su vida, su obra,* Buenos Aires, 1935, 4 vols.; Arthur F. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569–1581,* Caldwell, Idaho, 1938.

[2] Toledo had a survey made, the "Informaciones," and a history written, *Historia de las Incas,* by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, to justify Spanish title to the Indies on the basis of the tyranny and degradation of Inca rule. Of these arguments the Peruvian Jesuit Provincial, Acosta, said, "We must reject those false titles of dominion which some persons are trying to propagate, unnecessary defenders of the royal authority in my opinion, not to say deceivers, who would prove by their assertions the tyranny of the Incas . . . which we do not understand and do not admit. For it is not lawful to rob a thief, nor does the crime committed by someone else add to our own justice." Lewis Hanke, "Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and the Just Titles of Spain to the Inca Empire," *Americas,* III (July, 1946), 15. For a hostile Peruvian appraisal of Toledo, see Luis Valcárcel *El virrey Toledo, gran tirano del Perú, una revisión histórica,* Lima, 1940.

of the state which under the broad terms of the *patronato real* sought to reduce the Church to the status of a branch of the bureaucracy.[3]

But whether the man was a tyrant in his own right or merely the efficient tool of absolutism, the fact must be faced that Peru, and particularly Lima, prospered under his regime. Not merely was there a tremendous development of the material riches of the land, but the spiritual and intellectual side of Peruvian life began to flourish. Irving Leonard has recorded the astonishing transformation of *Limeño* society from the days of the illiterate goatherd, who first won Peru for Spain, to the culture and refinement of the Lima aristocracy less than forty years later.[4] Certainly, no small credit for that development must go to Toledo himself, who established the rule of law in which such a way of life may thrive.

His influence on the cultural growth of Peru was more than just an indirect one. He was immediately concerned, for example, with the development of an educational system for the colony. Particularly, he guided and fostered the growth of the University of Lima, which today under the title of the National University of San Marcos is celebrating four hundred years of existence and challenged only by the University of Mexico in its claim to be the oldest in the hemisphere.[5] Toledo's biographers have shown only passing interest in this phase of his rule[6] Moreover, until recently much of the documentation concerning Toledo's

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[3] On November 28, 1579, a few months after his arrival, Toledo called the heads of the religious orders together and read them the decree of royal patronage (*patronato*) over the Church. Zimmerman, 265. Under this authority Toledo could call any priest before him to answer for his acts, and if necessary expel him. All priests were required to be presented, examined, and licensed before they began their work or they would get no salary. *Ibid.*, 128–9. The clergy's protest against this limitation of their freedom set off a long controversy continuing throughout the viceroy's reign in the course of which he tried to reduce the Orders and prelates to his authority. According to his apologist, Levillier, this policy was necessary because the clergy in Peru had gotten so far out of hand that the king's rights under the *patronato real* were mere illusions. Roberto Levillier, *Ordenanzas de don Francisco de Toledo, virrey del Perú, 1569–1581*, Madrid, 1929, vii.

[4] Irving A. Leonard, "Best Sellers of the Lima Book Trade," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII (February, 1942), 5ff.

[5] For the San Marcos side of this controversy see Luis A. Eguiguren, *La Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos*, Lima, 1951, 63ff.

[6] Zimmerman, *Toledo*, has one page (240) on the subject. Levillier's *Toledo* and his *Ordenanzas* have nothing on the university. Much of the material for this paper was gathered in Lima while the writer was giving a series of lectures at San Marcos and the Catholic University of Lima during the summer of 1950.

relations with the university was unavailable. Since the publication of Father Vargas Ugarte's guide to some of these materials in the *Archivo de Indias* and the subsequent printing of those and many other documents in the bulky and repetitive volumes of Eguiguren, it is possible to work out a coherent history of Toledo's connection with university affairs.[7]

The university at Lima originated more than twenty years before the viceroy's arrival in Peru in the decision of a provincial meeting of the Dominican Order held at Cuzco in 1548. The friars there decided to establish a *studium generale* or university following the pattern of contemporary institutions in Europe.[8] The site chosen was the Dominican monastery of Rosario in Lima. The Chapter promised a small subvention of 300 pesos annually and the free services of four Dominican teachers.[9]

The following year the *cabildo* of Lima took a hand in the project. In selecting two procurators to represent the city before the king, their choice fell upon Jerónimo Aliaga, secretary of the Audiencia, and Fray Tomás de San Martín, provincial of the Peruvian Dominicans and most zealous in the cause of the proposed school.[10] Just before the two men left for Spain they were given instructions to solicit from the Court the formal authorization for a university modelled on the plan of the famous Salamanca.[11] In this way the machinery was started that produced the famous royal order of May 12, 1551, which gave the school legal existence.[12]

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[7] Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S.J., *Manuscritos Peruanos del Archivo de Indias*, Lima, 1938, 197ff; Luis A. Eguiguren, *Alma Mater. Orígenes de la universidad de Lima*, Lima, 1939; and by the same author, *Diccionario histórico cronológico de la real y pontificia universidad de San Marcos y sus colegios*, Lima, 1940–49, 2 vols. The chroniclers, Meléndez, Calancha, Córdova Salinas, Echave y Assu, Pedro Peralta, and others, wrote at length on the university, but they must be used with caution except where they have direct knowledge.

[8] Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 96.

[9] Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 25.

[10] Entries of December 10 and 11, 1549, in Bertram T. Lee, ed., *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, Lima, 1935, IV (1548–1553), 210–214.

[11] Included in the instructions to the procurators is a letter from the *cabildo* to the king which contains the following paragraph: "Yten que por que enestas partes estan tan Remotas despaña y los hijos de los vezinos y naturales enbiandolos a los estudios despaña seria hazer grandes gastos y por falta de posibilidad algunos se quedaron ynorantes pedir y suplicar a su magestad tenga por bien e haga merced que en al monasterio de los domynycos desta ciudad aya estudio general con las previllegios y esençiones y capitulaçiones que tiene el estudio general de Salamanca." Entry of January 23, 1550, *Cabildos de Lima*, IV, 258.

[12] The original of this often cited document has been lost from the *Libro de cédulas* preserved in the archives of the university. A reproduction of the copy found in the *Archivo de Indias* is printed in Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 265.

The delays of travel in those days prevented the arrival of the *cédula* in Lima until late in the following year. To herald its arrival, after the custom of the time, a reception was held on January 2, 1553, in the Chapter room of the Dominican house. There before the president of the Audiencia, the Archbishop of Lima, the assembled friars, and other distinguished guests, the document was read and formally acknowledged.[13] The officials kissed the paper and placed it on their heads in recognition of the king's authority.

The decree granted the university the privileges, franchises and exemptions enjoyed by Salamanca.[14] The *cédula* mentioned the monastery of Rosario as the proposed site of the school but there is some evidence for the belief that the royal document arrived in time to recognize an accomplished fact and that classes were already being held.[15] Because of the lack of endowment, however, the new university had to struggle along on the meager aid provided by the Dominicans. Not until 1557 did any assistance come from the government. In that year the viceroy, Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete, provided a small subsidy of 400 pesos annually drawn from a *repartimiento* of Indians in Magdalena.[16]

Because of these slender resources the university was restricted to a fraction of its proper functions. The *studium generale,* according to the tradition of the European schools of that day, required that there be graduate studies in at least one of the areas of study, Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts. Before 1570, how-

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13 Eguiguren, *San Marcos,* 24–25, and *Alma Mater,* 97–99.

14 Except the exemption of the graduates from taxation. Cf. Bernabé Cobo, *Historia de la fundación de Lima,* Mexico, 1639, reproduced in M. González de la Rosa, ed., *Monografías históricas sobre la ciudad de Lima,* Lima, 1881, I, 211.

15 There is considerable difference of opinion as to when the first classes were held at Lima. The estimates run from the extreme and obviously erroneous position of Lanning who says 1576 to that of Eguiguren who says 1549 and supports his statement with considerable circumstantial evidence. The chroniclers, Cobo and Calancha, both say 1553, the year of the proclamation of the royal *cédula* in Lima. Cf. John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies,* New York, 1940, 14; Cobo, *Historia de Lima, op. cit.,* 2; Fray Antonio de la Calancha, *Historia de la universidad de San Marcos hasta el 15 de julio de 1647,* Barcelona, 1638, reprinted in Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* I, 3; Eguiguren, *San Marcos,* 22ff.

16 This was to endow a chair of Grammar (Latin) in the monastery. The order of Cañete is printed in Eguiguren, *Alma Mater,* 109. A default apparently caused Toledo in 1581 to order the *encomendero* to pay the amount due. Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* I, 952–3. I have found no justification for Zimmerman's statement that the school at this time had no funds, rooms or equipment. Cf. his *Toledo,* I, pt. 1, 240.

ever, Lima taught only Theology and Arts. The instruction was probably very elementary.[17]

Contemporary writers point to the rigid Dominican control as a cause of the slow development of the university. From the beginning the friars had combined the duties of prior of the monastery and rector of the university, and restricted the holding of that important post to one of their number. This arrangement gave to the university the aspect of a private school of the Dominican Order. Moreover, other religious were not permitted to occupy chairs, and only an occasional secular professor joined the faculty as the meager endowment permitted.[18] Under such handicaps the school did not develop according to the great expectations of the *cédula* of 1551.

In time, opposition began to grow against the Dominican rule of the university. There was a strong feeling that it could not develop properly under such auspices. Some rector-priors were chosen principally for their piety, it was charged, and could not adequately fulfill their academic duties.[19] Moreover, it did not seem to these critics that the *cédula* of foundation had given such exclusive proprietary rights as the Order was exercising. There was pressure to emancipate the faculty through a free election of the rector. One of the first to make formal protest was Jerónimo Loaysa, the archbishop of Lima, and himself a former Dominican. In August of 1564 he wrote to Philip II asking that a *studium generale* be established in Lima. He pointed out that in various convents of the city, courses of study were being conducted, but there was no endowment and they were struggling to survive. It is clear from his letter that the archbishop was ignoring the establishment of the Dominicans and was advocating a new start, preferably to be housed in his cathedral since he asked for the endowment of a lecturer on the sacraments for the *ecclesia mayor*.[20]

The king replied to Loayza in October, 1566, that he realized the need for a school, and that he had written to the president of

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[17] In March, 1562, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás wrote to the king pointing out that Grammar, Logic, and Theology were being taught at Rosario and asking that he support the work with an endowment. Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 117–118.

[18] Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 39. To see how this arrangement contrasted with the prevailing organization of the *studia* in Europe cf. John A. Kemp, S.J., "The Character of the Medieval Universities," *Historical Bulletin*, XVIII, (November, 1939), 5ff.

[19] In the rectorate of Fray Alonso Guerra, (1569–1571) the controversy was particularly heated.

[20] Archbishop Loaysa to the king, August 20, 1564, in Eguiguren *Diccionario*, II, 899.

the Audiencia of Lima, Lope García de Castro, asking for his opinion as to how such a project could be carried out and the probable cost. In his letter to his governor, the king spoke of the need of a university in Lima so that the growing numbers of sons, both Spanish and mestizo, might be educated. Many, he said, are inclined to the pursuit of letters and to study, some of them for the priesthood.[21] He asked to be informed about the place and manner of foundation, what would be necessary to build and endow it, and other particulars.

At this point it seems that all parties were ignoring the foundation at Rosario. In January, 1566, the prior-rector of the university made a plea to the king to save the Dominican arrangement. He pointed out that the *studium generale* was functioning at Rosario but that this and the other monastic schools of the colony could not get along without financial help. He asked, therefore, that all monasteries with established schools be aided with grants.[22]

It is clear, however, in the further correspondence between the king and the chief of the Audiencia that the Spanish authorities were thinking along other lines. García de Castro's letter of June 5, 1566, again ignored the Dominican school and advised that His Majesty should establish a university with complete faculties, including those of Canon Law and Medicine. He pointed out that this would afford a wider opportunity for training the colonists since not everybody could live like nobility. Some should become lawyers and others clerics.[23] In another letter, the governor was still more explicit. The proposed university should have two chairs of Law, two of Canons, two of Grammar, one of Medicine, and two of Theology. To finance all this, he suggested the allotment of 5000 pesos in revenue from a *repartimiento* of Indians.[24] By 1569, therefore, the monarch had in his hands the

[21] King to Loayza, October 5, 1566, "Cedulario arzobispal de la arquediocesis de Lima, 1533–1820," *Revista del Archivo Nacional*, (1925), III, 298. King to Audiencia, October 19, 1566, *Ibid.*, III, 300.

[22] Rector Francisco de la Cruz to the king, January 25, 1566, in Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 159. From the practical side, the rector points out that money would be saved by not having to send friars back to Spain for studies.

[23] Manuel Vicente Villarán, *La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima, los Orígines: 1548–1577*, Lima, 1938, 14.

[24] García de Castro to the king, December 20, 1567, Villarán, 14. A reply of Philip to the governor on February 16, 1567, in answer to various letters finally makes mention of the *studium* of the Dominicans, but the king is still seeking information about what faculties there are, what progress has been made, and if the people are inclined to study. This report "up to now you have not sent us, and because without it we do not know how to provide, it is necessary that you do so. Let us have it as soon as possible." Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, II, 900.

plan of a school to serve the needs of the colony. But whether there were to be two universities or one in Lima, or whether the Dominican foundation could be made to serve a broader purpose, were questions to be decided in the regime of the able man who directed the affairs of the colony for the next twelve years.

With the arrival of Francisco de Toledo in Lima in November, 1569, a new era began in the government of Peru.[25] As viceroy he was the supreme authority in the colony. Standing in the place of the king himself, he was governor and captain general, president of the *hacienda real,* with the right to exercise the ecclesiastical patronage. The only check upon him was the laws and directives written for him by the Court at Madrid, and the only appeal from his acts and judgments was to the king himself. As executor of the *patronato real* he had virtually complete administrative control over the Church in his territory.[26] Moreover, he brought with him to Lima the dread Inquisition which he could use against a recalcitrant clergy if they defended their ecclesiastical rights against absolutism in opposition to the *patronato.*[27] By invoking this broad authority he could control the university in virtue of the *patronato* and the royal decree of foundation.[28]

Toledo was not the type of man to be satisfied with the mere semblance of power. On his arrival he immediately went to work to set up the lines of his authority.[29] With respect to the Church he was especially energetic. Although he was a religious man he would tolerate no interference or even non-cooperation with what he considered his own or the king's authority. He once wrote to Philip II that as far as the liberties of the friars and other clergy were concerned "it is truly evident to all your ministers that if there is any peril threatening the colony it is due to them." In the same letter he said that ". . . It is not to the best interests of Your

[25] For a description of Lima on Toledo's arrival see Levillier, *Toledo,* I, 100ff.

[26] For a description of the viceregal powers, cf. Tomás Zepeda Rincón, *La instrucción pública en la Nueva España en el siglo XVI,* Mexico, 1933, 16. The machinery of state control over the Church receives detailed treatment in Paul S. Lietz, "Vasco de Quiroga: Oidor Made Bishop," *Mid-America,* XXXII (January, 1950), 13ff. Toledo's authority extended to the appointment (presentation) of all priests except those going to the missions. Levillier, *Toledo,* I, pt. 1, 122.

[27] Toledo entered Lima accompanied by the first inquisitor, Serván de Cerezuela. Eguiguren, *Alma Mater,* 10. On his use of that body for political purposes, cf. *Ibid.,* 169.

[28] Even the monastery of Rosario itself had been made possible by a royal grant of land, and so came under the *patronato.* Maximilian to the Audiencia, October 25, 1549, Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* II, 1124.

[29] He left Lima on October 22, 1570, for a five year visitation of his diocese. Zimmerman, *Toledo,* 90, 221.

Majesty that either friars or secular clergy have either important authority or duties, for the good of the colony."[30]

Obviously, such an important institution as a university would be an object of immediate concern to the watchful eye of the viceroy. It was not unlikely that he should place himself at the head of a movement to take the school away from the jurisdiction of a prior-rector who as head of a religious community would not be as amenable to secular control as Toledo would require.

Just before the viceroy's arrival, other important voices were added to those calling for a break-up of the Dominican monopoly of the university at Lima. The *ayuntamiento,* acting through its procurator at Court, asked the king for help to set up a *studium generale.*[31] Again no mention was made of Rosario. It was not through forgetfulness. The king's answer again asked for particulars. There were the usual questions. Where should it be located? How much would it cost for support? There the matter stood when Toledo arrived, and it was clear that he carried with him full instructions on how to deal with the problem.[32]

Nevertheless, the plans for a change in the administration of the school lagged. The impatient *ayuntamiento* in March, 1571, again pressed the king for action. The university should be in a large and convenient location where all the branches of the curriculum might be taught. There should be a subsidy. The king was reminded of the endowment granted to the University of Mexico which came with its charter in 1551.[33] The answer to the city council came back in a *cédula* of December 9, 1571, to the effect that His Majesty had given full instructions to Toledo on how to proceed. He suggests that the city officials spur him to action.[34] Unfortunately, a few months after the new viceroy

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[30] Toledo to the king, October 15, 1578, Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* II, 928. For further discussion of his ideas on this subject, cf. Levillier, *Toledo,* I, pt. 1, 123–4. His antagonism against Church authority apparently extended to money matters. He tried at one time to get the king to "stop the flood of money which goes to Rome." Valcárcel, *Toledo,* 48.

[31] King to Juan Cortés, the procurator, February 25, 1568, *Alma Mater,* 172–173.

[32] Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* I, 59.

[33] Instructions to Miguel de Caydia, procurator of Lima, March 12, 1571. Calancha, *San Marcos,* in Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* I, 3.

[34] "Y asi habemos ordenado á Don Francisco de Toledo . . . lo que se ha de hacer en lo tocante á la dicha Universidad de esa ciudad, acudireis a el y solicitarleis para que cumpla lo que le embiamos a mandar . . ." King to the *ayuntamiento* of Lima, December 9, 1571, in Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* II, 907.

arrived in the City of Kings, he began his long visitation of the viceroyalty, and there was further delay.[35]

In the interval, the disagreement between the lay and clerical groups of the faculty reached new proportions. Some of the professors were graduates of Salamanca and felt strongly by reason of their own experience about the handicaps of Dominican rule. There was also an increasing number of graduates of Lima itself who belonged to the cloister, but were prevented from having a voice in the administration. It was these groups that finally decided to take their case to the Audiencia, which had been entrusted with the administration of affairs in the viceroy's absence. A committee appeared before the court which included Gaspar de Meneses, Marcos de Lucio, López Guarnido, and Cosme Carillo, all teachers, asking that a directive be issued them to call the full cloister together for the purpose of freely electing a rector. On May 11, 1571, that authorization was given.[36] Subsequently the cloister met and elected a layman, Dr. Pedro Fernández Valenzuela, who by strange coincidence was also a judge of the Audiencia.

The Dominicans did not take any part in the election. On July 3, the procurator general of the Order, Fray Diego de Corvalán, registered a formal protest before the court. He claimed that the friars had not been notified, that the whole thing had been done secretly, and rejected the election of the lay rector. He insisted that the whole procedure was illegal because the privileges, including the *rectorado*, had been permanently conceded to the Dominicans of Rosario by the *cédula* of foundation of 1551.[37]

There is good reason to believe that Toledo was keeping in touch with university affairs during his absence and that he not only had a hand in the decision of the Audiencia but may have designated the man to be elected. Possibly the royal order of August 10, 1570, ordering a free election at Lima may have kept him from simply making an outright appointment.[38] The viceroy's guiding hand may be detected in the decision of the court, just two days after the procurator made his plea, that the election was valid and acclaiming the new rector.[39] In any event, Toledo's

[35] Toledo did not return to Lima till November 20, 1575. Zimmerman, *Toledo*, 221.

[36] Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 44–5.

[37] The text of the protest is in Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 185.

[38] The order of August 10, 1570, appears modified to include the viceroy of Mexico, in *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1681, lib. I, tit. XXII, ley 4.

[39] The text of the decision of the Audiencia of May 13, 1571, appears in Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 187.

communications with the king during the controversy make clear his own position on the issues. Almost a month before the disputed election of May, 1571, he wrote that no universities should be established in monasteries and asked the royal sanction for the separation of the school of Lima. The king replied on December 30 that he agreed to have it that way.[40] Thus, by the end of the year 1571 the Dominicans had lost the battle, both in law and in fact, to a powerful combination of archbishop, faculty, city government, Audiencia, and viceroy. Through these rigorous measures the interested parties got their "free" election and the Dominicans lost their university. There was no longer any need to send petitions asking the king for a new foundation. By these means the historical continuity of the school was preserved.

The difficulties, however, had just begun. A most embarrassing obstacle presented itself to the functioning of the cloister. Since the government made no provision otherwise, it was necessary for the school to continue to use the facilities of the monastery of Rosario for its classes and degrees. When the Audiencia ordered the Dominicans to permit the use of their premises, they quite naturally objected. The provincial, Fray Alonso de la Cerda, was entirely consistent. He refused to accept the election as valid or give recognition to the decision of the Audiencia. Consequently, he saw no reason to admit a group, who indignantly insisted that they were the university, to the use of the Dominican properties.[41]

At this point began a long series of incidents between the indignant friars demanding their rights and the laymen equally insistent on the use of the monastery. There were recriminations and scenes which at this date make rather amusing reading, however undignified they may have appeared to contemporaries. In the litigation of the next few years between the two groups, witnesses testify that the friars on occasion locked the professors out of the university quarters, or threatened to eject them forcibly, interfered with examinations by ringing church bells, or sang in choir deliberately to drown out the proceedings.[42]

The controversy could only be settled in one way, by finding a new site for the school. One possibility was the new Jesuit *colegio* just recently opened. The viceroy, seeking a way out of the Do-

[40] King to Toledo, December 30, 1571, in answer to Toledo's letter of March 25, 1571. Text is in Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, II, 908.

[41] Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 47.

[42] Cf. the depositions of witnesses in Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos*, II, 197ff; Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 190ff; and Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, II, 17ff.

minican difficulties, suggested to the Jesuits that they offer the use of their quarters at San Pablo to house the university. They refused the offer, as might be expected, because it was clear that they would be required to play host in their house of studies to a school entirely out of their control.[43]

With other possibilities apparently exhausted, the only recourse was to purchase a new site. On September 16, 1573, the *ayuntamiento* decided to investigate the price of a convent of the Augustinians, called San Marcelo. The university with the aid of loans finally bought the property and moved into its new quarters some time before the transaction was completed on December 22, 1574.[44] To match the new location a new name was chosen for the school. Previously it had been known as the University of Lima or of the City of Kings. With much ceremony, a name was selected by chance from a number of appropriate possibilities, and the school became San Marcos.[45]

The *studium generale* under its new administration began a period of rapid development. It now began to grow along the lines of the plan and purpose expressed in the *cédula* of foundation by which it was to pattern itself on Salamanca, so often mentioned as its model and prototype. Teachers of other Orders could now occupy its chairs, and students could follow a more varied curriculum. Despite the bitterness which manifested itself at times in the conflict with the Dominicans, there was no attempt to exclude members of that Order from teaching positions. In subsequent years many illustrious Dominicans occupied the chairs of Theology in the university.[46].

In furthering this program of expansion, Toledo made available the revenues of several *repartimientos* of Indians who by their labor furnished the university with some thirteen thousand pesos annually. From this handsome income the cloister was to endow

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[43] Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos*, II, 201; Oliva Anello, S.J., *Historia del Perú y varones insignes en santidad de la Compañía de Jesús*, Lima, 1895. This book was written in 1598. The Jesuits came to Lima on April 1, 1568, and they stayed with the Dominicans at Rosario until they could move into their Colegio San Pablo about a year later. Father Vargas Ugarte labels as false the much repeated statement that Toledo wanted to give the university to the Jesuits. The story has no substantiation in the correspondence of either the viceroy or members of the Order. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S.J., *Los Jesuitas del Perú (1568–1767)*, Lima, 1941, 90.

[44] Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 55. About two years later, the university moved again to a roomier site in San Juan de la Penitencia.

[45] The cloister met on December 22, 1574. Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos*, II, 203.

[46] Eguiguren, *San Marcos*, 55–6, gives a list of the Dominicans.

seventeen chairs in the fields of Theology, Canon and Civil Law, Arts, and possibly Medicine.[47] With this move, the viceroy completed his plan for royal control of the San Marcos. In making the grant of revenues, he was careful to attach the reservation that his ordinances, provisions, and constitutions must be obeyed. In fact, his concern over his authority was such that he made the initial appointments of the faculty himself.[48]

This policy of "total" control achieved by the viceroy is in patent contradiction to the exercise of any outside authority over San Marcos, including that of the Pope. Yet papal protection and a papal title had been secured for San Marcos by a bull issued at the request of the king in July, 1571.[49] By this charter, the school became a pontifical university. Its masters and doctors were admitted to the fellowship of the faculties of Europe with the right of *jus ubique docendi,* of teaching in all other papel institutions. Its decrees were given universal recognition, deriving their validity from the papal bull sent for that purpose.[50]

Obviously the freedom which such papal protection gave a school from interference by royal or feudal authority in medieval times had long since been dissipated. In the face of the rising absolutism the Spanish universities, including Salamanca, were the first in Europe to feel the weight of the secular authority. The *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Wise contains a detailed set of decrees governing university affairs.[51] The growth of the royal power had reached such proportions by the 16th century that there was little concern over interference by the pope. In reality, the papal title for San Marcos in the Spanish system meant accreditation by a

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47 Toledo to the king, April 15, 1577, informing him of the arrangement of the endowment. Classes were to start April 25, 1577, and Toledo would like the fact publicized. Text in Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* II, 923. Cobo, *Historia de Lima,* 220–1, gives a list of chairs.

48 Cf. Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* II, 917, for the conditions attached to the grant of October 12, 1576; the proclamation of Toledo of May 24, 1577, places the university under the *patronato.* Cobo, *Historia de Lima,* 220–1. Toledo was to make the original appointments with the advice of learned men. Cf. certification of the secretary of the University, January 24, 1577, Eguiguren, *Diccionario,* II, 921.

49 "Dilectus filius fratribus lectoribus. . . " Bull of Pius V issued July 25, 1571. Printed copy in *Libro de cédulas,* folio 1, in the archives of the university.

50 For discussion of this point cf. Villarán, *San Marcos,* 3–4; Zepeda Rincon, *Instruccion pública,* 103; Kemp, "Medieval Universities," *loc cit.*

51 *Las siete partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio,* Madrid, 1807, part. II, tit. XXXI. Stephen D'Irsay, *Histoire des Universités Françaises et ètrangéres,* Paris, 1933, I, 143, states that this is the first example of state legislation being applied to universities.

comparatively feeble authority effectively dominated by local political interests.

Toledo, then, was acting on firm ground when he ordered a set of constitutions to be drawn up by the cloister and submitted to him for approval. The set of forty-two provisions received the viceregal sanction on October 11, 1570, and the university began an organized life under a formal charter from the state.[52] The regulations covered all phases of university life, including the duties of officials, courses of study, requirements for graduation, and the elaborate ceremonial customary in those times. Within a limited area, the cloister was allowed freedom of action. In conformity with medieval tradition, the rector was elected by the cloister, and might even be a student. Chairs were also filled by election. It required a direct order from the king, however, to preserve the elections from the interference of the viceroy.[53] Toledo ultimately extended the area of autonomy to permit the rector his full power over students and faculty. This right, also a part of the medieval tradition, included questions of discipline involving criminal acts whether they had to do with studies or not, provided they were not crimes punishable by bloodletting, mutilation, or whipping. Crimes involving the latter were remanded to the royal courts.[54]

While the granting of these powers seemed to be moving San Marcos toward the liberal medieval tradition, the facts do not bear this out. Toledo constantly intervened in the internal affairs of San Marcos. He decreed the type of dress to be worn by the students, legislated cleanliness about the grounds, created new teaching chairs, and—a far more serious matter—ordered the rector and the doctors to reverse themselves after they had failed a candidate, and required that the degree be granted.[55]

Several terms are commonly used by the historians to describe Toledo's reformation of the university. Most frequently one is told that San Marcos was "emancipated," or "laicized," or "secular-

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[52] The text of these first constitutions is in Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 229ff. These served as the basis for the first printed set published in 1602.

[53] King to Viceroy Toledo, August 10, 1570, Eguiguren, *Alma Mater*, 183.

[54] Proclamation of Toledo, May 25, 1580. Text is in Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, II, 981–982. These provisions also appear in the *Recopilación de leyes*, lib. I, tit. XXII, ley XII.

[55] July 16, 1580, Toledo legislated on student dress. Eguiguren, *Diccionario*, II, 941–943; November 5, 1580, he ordered the grounds cleaned up; *Ibid.*, 949; April 25, 1581, he reversed the decision of the cloister, *Ibid.*, 954.

ized." Of these three, clearly the first is entirely inappropriate, and the last two must be considerably qualified for readers who live in the modern secular tradition of the state. There is no hint in all that Toledo did that he tried to separate religion from the curriculum of the university. The state, in fact, was pledged to maintain the medieval integration of religion with the course of study, since its legal and theoretical right to be in the Indies was predicated on its promise to preserve Catholicism and spread it. The clergy still taught at San Marcos, and the medieval curriculum remained intact during Toledo's day.

The viceroy's achievement, then, must be measured by other than substantive changes. His contribution was administrative. He cleared the way, at what cost we have seen, for the growth of San Marcos, but always on his own terms. The Jesuit Cobo, writing in 1619, gives the best estimate of Toledo's work and pronounces its most fulsome praise.[56] From the original seventeen chairs of Toledo's time the school had grown until there were now between eighty and ninety masters and doctors. There were about a thousand students. Only Medicine was missing from the curriculum.[57]

The greatness of San Marcos, said Cobo, was attested by the numbers of learned men who had come out of it in recent years. Its graduates staffed the cathedrals, parishes and Indian missions. Where before these men had only religious orders, now they were masters and doctors as well. Instead of sending out friars from Spain to work in the missions—a great expense to the government —they were now provided for. What is more, the tribunals and Audiencias were staffed with graduates of the university. Speaking as an eye witness Cobo said that when he first came to the city of Lima in 1599, there were no native graduates teaching at San Marcos, in 1619 there was scarcely a rector elected who was not a Peruvian. This phenomenal growth Cobo attributes without reservation to the administrative genius of the viceroy Toledo.[58]

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[56] Cobo, *Historia de Lima*, 226.
[57] *Ibid.*, 228.
[58] *Ibid.*, 228–229.

Book Reviews

Haven in the Woods. By John I. Kolehmainen and George W. Hill. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, 1951. Pp. ix, 177. $2.50.

Although the hardy Finnish immigrants, after reaching our eastern ports, dispersed themselves all over the nation, they seemed especially attracted to Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Perhaps the terrain and climate in the states mentioned reminded them of their homeland. Most of those who came, and the immigration really began in earnest only after our Civil War, were peasants, lumbermen, and migratory rural workers, although some urban, unskilled laborers also were among those leaving Finland. They brought with them a willingness to work hard, to save their money, and to mind their own business, all of which were qualities destined to enrich the land of their adoption.

Finland herself was wise enough to realize that she was poorer with the departure of each emigrant ship. The editors in their papers and the ministers in their pulpits were urging the prospective emigrants, by 1890, to remain in Finland. The Finns were told that they were betraying their fatherland by leaving it, and were assured that Finland needed the labor of every son and daughter. Such preachings, however, whether printed or oral, fell on indifferent ears, or upon ears already attuned to the clink of coins used in payment of higher wages in the United States. Moreover, some Finns left because of the threat of military service in the Russian armies, and also because of the limited franchise and the severe restrictions upon freedom of speech and of assembly, measures decreed by Russian influence, an evil force that lasted until 1917.

By 1940 it was estimated by the authors that only one-fourth of the foreign-born Finns in Wisconsin could be classified as urban, although practically all of them had started life in America by working in logging camps, in quarries, in mines, at the docks, or in fishing fleets. However, the Finns found these jobs hazardous, especially the jobs in the mines of fifty years ago. In 1900, a mine disaster in Utah took the lives of sixty-three Finns; in 1903, at Hanna, Wyoming, ninety-six Finns were killed in a mine accident. In the period from 1900 to 1903, 146 Finns were killed in accidents in mines in Michigan. Many other Finns died from miner's consumption, or silicosis.

In desperation, so to say, the surviving Finns began a "back to the land" movement, rather than to permit even the remainder to be sacrificed to American industrial needs. Cut over land was purchased by the Finns in various parts of Michigan and Wisconsin. It was poor land, but it was cheap and all that they could afford. From three to five hundred dollars often bought 160 acres of land, in the period 1903–1905. By 1910 the Finns in northern Wisconsin were forced to pay from five to ten dollars per acre, but the land could be paid for over an extended period. The land was poor and life was hard on the northern Wisconsin farms. Schools were inadequate; the sons and daughters of the immigrants were inclined to leave their home surroundings as soon as possible.

Other unfortunate characteristics of the Finnish settlements were their indifference to religion and their sympathy for socialism. It is estimated by the authors that at least two-thirds of the Finns in this country have been indifferent to religion since 1900. Lutheranism has lost its appeal to such a degree that some have become definitely anti-religious. The reasons for this attitude, as well as the reasons why socialism has seemed so attractive, are discussed unemotionally by the authors. The experiences of the Finns with cooperatives of various kinds are presented in some detail. The Finns are fortunate in having had such sympathetic but at the same time objective writers to recount the interesting story of the men and women who sought a haven in the woods in the northern section of our nation.

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Cinderella of Europe. By Sheila M. O'Callaghan. Philosophical Library, New York, 1951. Pp. 200. $3.75.

Our American opinion, under pressure of military concern, seems to be groping toward an insight into contemporary Spain. It is a commonplace among our political scientists that there is a vast amount of material ready on this subject, but no one has found the way to mobilize it. Historians, who notably rest their cases on past ideas as well as past events, continue to edit texts and monographs in the spirit of '61. Here, now, from England comes a really progressive study of the burning topic. Disregarding Shakespeare's advice: "Beware of entrance to a quarrel"—if you want a scholar to read your book—the lady Oxonian brings a thorough experience and a mordant wit into combat for revision of her country's official attitude toward the land of Cinderella.

Hers is a hardy campaign. Though we know fairy tales are true, we act as if we disbelieve them. Cinderella made it. Her magic slippers and comely countenance quite took off the Prince. In real life, a Civil War with 1,200,000 officially admitted casualties, a young man named José Primo de Rivera, and a badly stung populace, conspired to create a new kind of state in Spain. Its motto runs: "Intolerable that great masses of people live miserably while the few enjoy every luxury." Its ruler maintains that of all the nations only Spain and Russia know where they are heading. Its people say: "We are all in this together." It asks recognition.

Mr. Atlee upholds the pretense that can recognize "Red" China without approving its redness yet scorn "Black" Spain because of its blackness, in spite of what Churchill called its claims on British gratitude. This takes the breath of people who have a standard of truth in historical and any other investigation. Our own American Historical Association—in its second-last Chicago convention—endured bitter pangs of debate, what time a batch of self-styled anti-Fascists put forth mighty effort to elect a president entirely untouched by State Department contact with the villain. Karl Stern in his *Pillar of Fire* offers a cue to it all: "Hate like love knows

no argument." But research does not proceed by rule of love or hate. Its devotees will relish the fairy tale.

After a perhaps necessary bombardment of Downing Street, the narrative explores the overthrow of Alfonso XIII and its symptomatic reflection of nineteenth century Spain republicanism. As one of their intellectuals admitted: "We ape the politics of all other countries." Another explained, in the tradition of dialectical materialism: "We have no country." All this, while pseudo-democracy brought a plethora of politics, a stagnation of government, and not-exceptional success in assassinating opposition characters. The fratricide of 1936–1939 is passed over in silence, mirroring the wish of Spain today to forget its horror.

By far the best part of the book lies in chapters six through nine. There one finds a really penetrating account of the political, economic and social ways in the new, youthful people. To read it one must be prepared for surprises, for understanding of viewpoints and institutions proper not to American but to Spanish psychology. They need political *order;* we have it. They do not give equal pay for equal work, nor level downward but upward. They trust no parties, nor brain-trusts, nor a one-party state. In their recent memory is Indalecio Prieto's ringing challenge of 1936: "If the Right triumphs, there *must* be civil war, and *they* will be wiped out." The authoress interjects the 1950 election manifesto of Atlee's group: "In no circumstances must the Tories be allowed to get a parliamentary majority; . . . . [they must be] smashed beyond recovery." Spaniards have long recollection and relish no recurrence of this kind of thing.

Americans will wonder at the tax figures. Only thirty-five Spaniards pay the maximum rate of 46% on incomes over one million pesetas (about $60,000) annually, and income tax begins at 60,000 pesetas (about $3,600)! Where do all the funds for welfare arise? Directly from business profits. The details in this, as in the method of choosing the national assembly, are complex and defy honest translation into our ready idioms. Voluntary association contributes what compulsive law attempts in England and the U. S. A.

Ostracism from world trade put much of the drag on their production. Theft of their (fourth largest) gold deposit in 1938 left the treasury in dire straits. Transport still worries along on 1924 models. Yet their money buys twice what English brings.

Lest one imagine this book to be but eulogy, abundant criticism is found for many Spanish doings, from articles in the Falangist creed to military privilege in civil life. The work exhibits the best in Oxford independence of thought and penetrating analysis. A fair index assists the reader, though the printing and general format reflect economic stringency.

W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.

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Notes and Comments

The University of California Publications in History, Volume 40 and Volume 41, 1951, are now obtainable from the University of California Press. These two scholarly works are: *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793–1796, Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs,* by Richard K. Murdoch, and *The Establishment of Canadian Diplomatic Status at Washington,* by John S. Galbraith. The first named volume of 208 pages, including the bibliography and index, answers the question: What did Spain through its agents at St. Augustine and Havana do "to drive the invaders from East Florida and to frustrate attempts at internal revolts?" The second work in 119 pages examines the rise of Canada from a colonial to national status and the establishment of a Canadian foreign policy distinct from the empire policy. The achievement of an international status meant the exchange of diplomatic representation with the United States.

* * * *

David Rankin Barbee has a very interesting article in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* June, 1951. He entitles it "Lincoln, Chase, and the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller." The contrast between the unswerving attitude toward secession of Lincoln, the politician's position of playing both sides as taken by Secretary Chase, and that of the anti-slavery, Southern Baptist leader is made from sound source materials. Fuller's opinion of Lincoln's constitutional stand gradually changed with comprehesion of the full import of secession. The articles closes with a touching scene that occurred when Fuller met again 150 emancipated Negroes to whom he had once been owner and pastor.

Another sidelight on Lincoln appears in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Summer, 1951. Harlan Hoyt Horner writes "Lincoln Rebukes a Senator." Orville Hickman Browning was the object of the scolding, and A. Lincoln's letter of reprimand appears toward the end of the article.

* * * *

Michigan History, June, 1951, is Detroit's 250th birthday festival number. The calendar of events from July 4 to October 21 is printed. In the list we find an historical spectacle, "City of

Freedom," presented by the University of Detroit, the dedication of the Detroit Historical Museum, the laying of the cornerstones for Kresge Science Library and the Wayne University Library, and the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan.

* * * *

Chicago History, Summer, 1951, edited by Paul M. Angle and published by The Chicago Historical Society, has a full description of "Uncle Tom's Cabin 100th Anniversary Exhibit." The various editions of the book exhibited are from the collection of Mr. T. Henry Foster of Ottumwa, Iowa, who has over five hundred volumes. Hand bills, posters, photographs, sheet music, and lithographs added great interest to the fine exhibit.

* * * *

Indiana History, June, 1951, has an article of general interest by Emma Lou Thornbrough, namely, "The Race Issue in Indiana Politics during the Civil War." Elsewhere in the same number Frances Krauskopf has a paper on "The Documentary Basis for LaSalle's Supposed Discovery of the Ohio River." In this Miss Krauskopf, a graduate assistant at Indiana University, reaches the same conclusion as was proved years ago by Father Delanglez in MID-AMERICA and in *Some LaSalle Journeys,* that is, that LaSalle was never on the Ohio. The evidence was sufficient for the credence of the historians of the Sorbonne, who previously considered that France had claim to the Ohio by reason of LaSalle's discovery, until Margy's mutilation of the documents was exposed by Delanglez.

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VOLUME XXXIII

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